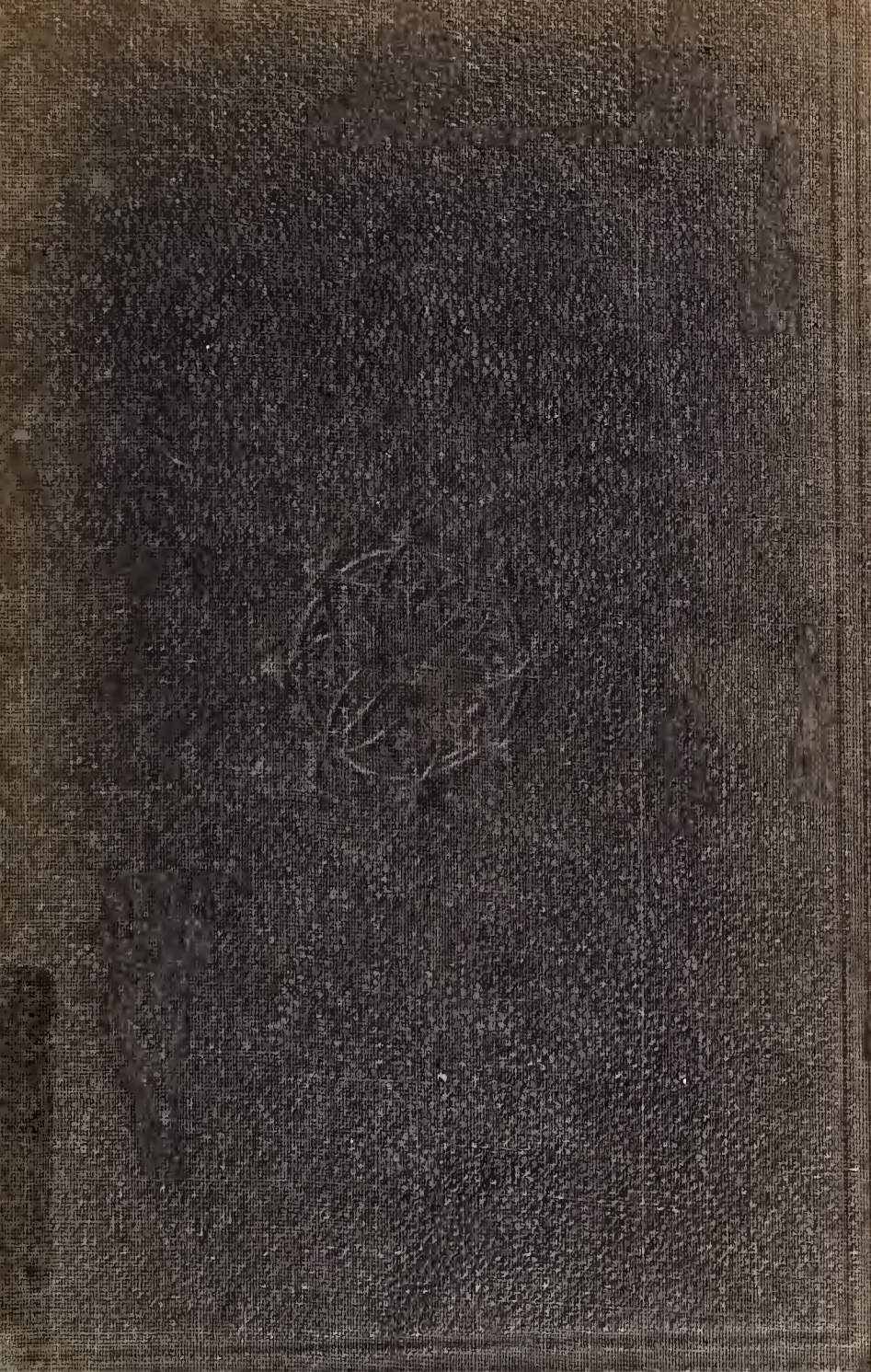






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BACON'S ESSAYS.

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THE
ESSAYS OF LORD BACON:

WITH

CRITICAL AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES,

AND AN EXAMPLE, WITH ANSWERS,

OF A

UNIVERSITY MIDDLE-CLASS EXAMINATION PAPER ON THE ESSAYS.

BY THE REV. JOHN HUNTER, M.A.

One of the National Society's Examiners of Middle-Class Schools
Formerly Vice-Principal of the Society's Training College, Battersea.

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PREFACE.

‘THE word ESSAY,’ says Archbishop Whately, ‘has been considerably changed in its application since the days of Bacon. By an *Essay* was originally meant—according to the obvious and natural sense of the word—a slight sketch, to be filled up by the reader ; brief hints, designed to be followed out ; loose thoughts on some subject, thrown out without much regularity, but sufficient to suggest further inquiries and reflections. Any more elaborate, regular, and finished composition, such as in our days often bears the title of an Essay, our ancestors called a *treatise, tractate, dissertation, or discourse.*’

It was, indeed, evidently a main purpose of Bacon’s Essays ‘to suggest further inquiries and reflections.’ In a Dedication to the Prince of Wales, which he intended to prefix to the edition of 1612, but withdrew on account of the Prince’s death, he calls them ‘certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously :’ ‘dispersed meditations :’ ‘grains of salt, that will rather give you an appetite, than offend you

with satiety.' In the edition of 1625 we meet with many things culled from his other writings ; and, in his Dedication of that edition to the Duke of Buckingham, he describes the Essays as 'being of the best fruits that, by the good increase which God gives to my pen and labours, I could yield.' The original edition in 1597, consisting of only ten Essays, was the author's earliest publication : the edition of 1625 was his last. In the interval the Essays had been growing both in number and length. In 1612 they were increased to thirty-eight ; in 1625 to fifty-eight. The illustrious writer died in the following year.

In Bacon's life-time, the Essays were the most popular of his writings, and he judged rightly that they would ever be so, and took much pains to render them more and more worthy of acceptance. In the Dedication of 1625 he writes : 'I do now publish my Essays, which of all my other works have been most current : for that, as it seems, they come home to men's business and bosoms. I have enlarged them, both in number and weight, so that they are indeed a new work. . . . I do conceive that the Latin volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last.'

The Latin translation of the Essays was not by Bacon himself, but was executed under his general supervision by other hands. Dr. Hacket, Bishop of Lichfield, Ben Jonson, and Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, are the only persons known with any

certainly to have been engaged in this work. The Latin version is characterised by general elegance, and occasional ingenuity ; but as it frequently takes liberties with the original, in expunging, interpolating, and otherwise altering (though in some few of these instances Bacon himself may have been the innovator), and also in several places misinterprets Bacon's meaning, we cannot think that he revised it very carefully. On the other hand, it is a very great help in enabling us to apprehend the sense in which many phrases and forms of expression were understood in Bacon's time ; and on this account I have, in the present volume, made frequent reference to it. The title which he gave to it is—*Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum*.

On the merits of Bacon's Essays, Mr. Singer quotes Dugald Stewart as thus speaking of them, in 1815 : ' Under the same head of Ethics, may be mentioned the small volume to which Bacon has given the title of *Essays* : the best known and most popular of his works. It is also one of those where the superiority of his genius appears to the greatest advantage ; the novelty and depth of his reflections often receiving a strong relief from the triteness of his subject. It may be read from beginning to end in a few hours ; and yet, after the twentieth perusal, one seldom fails to remark in it something overlooked before. This, indeed, is a characteristic of all Bacon's writings, and is only to be accounted for by the inexhaustible

aliment they furnish to our own thoughts, and the sympathetic activity they impart to our torpid faculties.'

The design of the present edition of the *Essays* is not to be regarded as implying an entire dissent from the opinion of Archbishop Whately, who, after remarking that Bacon is, 'especially in his *Essays*, the most suggestive author that ever wrote,' says that 'the cultivated readers of Bacon do not want expansions of an author whose compactness and fulness are his greatest charms; and that it is doing mischief to those who would find in this suggestiveness, if left to themselves, a valuable mental discipline.' It has not been my aim to make expansion of Bacon's suggestive compactness, but chiefly to secure many of his terms and phrases from being misunderstood, to explain his less obvious or less familiar allusions, to indicate the authorities quoted by him, and to give such general illustrations as are likely to interest the student, without lessening the reflective exercise of his mind. The *Essays* still remain, and are intended to remain, a study, after all the aid I have here given. Only I have sought to arrest, now and then, and prompt young readers, who may too easily suppose that they understand the terms in which Bacon expresses himself, and who may thus be led to misinterpret his thought, or to dig in a direction that will fail to find it.

I have been particularly careful to avoid inaccuracy

in the text of the Essays, several modern editions being faulty in this respect. I have followed the original copies, modernizing, however, the spelling, and, what was very much wanted, rectifying the punctuation. No such liberty has been taken as that of substituting *beholden* for *beholding*, *interested* for *interessed*, *its* for *his*, &c. The few archaisms of the author should certainly be preserved as characteristics of his time and style. Nor has any attempt been made to correct the grammar of the 'loose thoughts, thrown out without much regularity.' Wherever we find 'Priscian a little scratched, 't will serve'* to convey the author's meaning perspicuously enough, sometimes, indeed, the more perspicuously.

In conclusion, I have to state that my thanks are due to an accomplished scholar, the Rev. G. W. Cox, for his kind revision of this work before it was passed for press, and for several suggestions by which I was enabled to improve my own performance.

J. HUNTER.

LONDON: Sept. 9, 1873.

* *Love's Lab. Lost*, v. 1.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE

TO M. ANTHONY BACON,

HIS DEARE BROTHER.

LOUING and beloued brother, I doe nowe like some that haue an orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing. These fragments of my conceite were going to print : to labour the staie of them had bin troublesome, and subject to interpretation: to let them passe had beene to adventure the wrong they mought receive by vntrue coppies, or by some garnishment which it mought please any one that should set them forth to bestow vpon them ; therefore I held it best discreation to publish them my selfe, as they passed long agoe from my pen, without any further disgrace then the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did euer hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing men's conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: so in these particulars I have played my selfe the inquisitor, and find nothing to my vnderstanding in them contrarie or infectious to the state of Religion or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I disliked now to put them out, because they will bee like the late new halfe-pence, which though the siluer were good, yet the peeces were small. But since they would not stay with their Master, but would needes trauaile abroade, I haue

preferred them to you that are next my selfe ; Dedicating them, such as they are, to our loue, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your infirmities translated vpon my selfe, that her Majestie might haue the seruice of so actiue and able a mind; and I might be with excuse confined to these contemplations and studies, for which I am fittest: so commend I you to the preservation of the Divine Majestie. From my Chamber at Graies Inne, this 30. of Januarie. 1597.

Your entire louing brother,

FRAN. BACON.

TO MY LOUING BROTHER,

SIR JOHN CONSTABLE, KNIGHT.

My last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother *Master Anthony Bacon*, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same nature: which if I my selfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the world will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my brother, I found you next; in respect of bond, both of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and societie, and particularly of communication in studies; wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For as my business found rest in my contemplations, so my contemplations euer found rest in your louing conference and judgement. So wishing you all good, I remaine

Your louing brother and friend,

FRA. BACON.

TO THE
 RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD LO.
 THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
 HIS GRACE,
 LO. HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.
 EXCELLENT LO.

SALOMON saies, *a good name is as a precious oyntment*; and I assure myselfe such wil your *Graces* name bee with Posteritie. For your Fortune and Merit both haue been Eminent. And you haue planted Things that are like to last. I doe now publish my Essayes; which of all my other workes, haue beene most Currant; for that, as it seemes, they come home to Mens Businesse and Bosomes. I haue enlarged them both in number and weight, so that they are indeed a New Worke. I thought it, therefore, agreeable to my Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them both in English and in Latine. For I doe conceiue, that the Latine Volume of them (being in the Vniuersall Language) may last as long as Bookes last. My *Instauration* I dedicated to the *King*; my *Historie of Henry the Seuenth* (which I haue now also translated into Latine) and my *Portions of Naturall History*, to the *Prince*; and these I dedicate to your *Grace*; Being of the best Fruits, that, by the good Encrease which *God* giues to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. *God* leade your *Grace* by the Hand.

Your Graces most obliged and faithfull Seruant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

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*chapters/
dialectic - look
for it.*

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ESSAYS.

I. OF TRUTH.

WHAT is truth? said jesting¹ Pilate, and would not stay for an answer.² Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting³ free-will in thinking as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind⁴ be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits,⁵ which are of the same

¹ *Jesting*] In derision. Lat. *derisor*, as a mocker.

² *And would not stay, &c.*] John xviii. 38, 'Pilate saith unto him, What is truth? And when he had said this, he went out,' &c.

³ *Affecting*] Having a liking for.

⁴ *The sects, &c.*] The Pyrrhonists, or Sceptics, and the disciples of their historian Sextus Empiricus.

⁵ *Certain discoursing wits*] Individual arguing minds. *Discourse* often signified the power, or process, of deriving knowledge by conclusion from premises, as distinguished from *intuition*. Hence Milton, *P. L.* v. 487-9, speaks of 'Reason discursive or intuitive.' Bishop Reynolds, in his treatise *On the Passions* (1640), ch. xxxvii., speaking of different means and powers of knowing, says, 'In regard of perfection, [there is] *Intuitive* knowledge, as that of angels, whereby they know things by the view, and *Discursive*, as that of men, whereby we know things by ratiocination.' Again, ch. xl., 'As it [the will] hath not judgment to discover an end, so neither hath it *discourse* to judge of the right means whereby that may be attained.' Compare Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, iv. 4, 'Sure, He that made us with such large discourse, looking before and after;' and Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants*,

veins,¹ though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth, nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon² men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural, though corrupt, love of the lie itself.³ One of the later school of the Grecians⁴ examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies, where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant; but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell:⁵ this

Pref. 3, 'An understanding man, and one that can distinguish between discourse and sophistry;' and again, 12, 'What is discourse, but drawing conclusions out of premises by good consequence?' So in Ford's *Lady's Trial*, iii. 3, 'We through madness frame strange conceits in our discoursing brains.' *Discourse of reason* was a familiar phrase. Thus, in Massinger's *Unnatural Combat*, ii. 1, 'It adds to my calamity that I have discourse of reason.' So Bacon himself, in the *Advancement*, I., 'Martin Luther, conducted, no doubt, by a higher providence, but in discourse of reason, finding,' &c.; and Shakspeare—

'O Heaven! a beast, that wants discourse of reason,
Would have mourned longer.'—*Ham.* i. 2.

¹ *Of the same veins*] Of the same humour or disposition. The *vena ingenii* of Horace suggested this, *Od.* ii. 18, 'Ingeni benigna vena.' So in *Art. Poet.*, 409—

'Ego nec studium, sine divite venâ,
Nec rude quid possit, video, ingenium.'

² *Imposeth upon*] Lays restraint upon.

³ *Love of the lie itself*] Rev. xxii. 15, 'And whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.' Jerem. v. 31, 'The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it so.'

⁴ *One of the later school, &c.*] Here *one* signifies a certain philosopher. Lat. *quidam*. Bacon perhaps refers to the New Academy. Aldis Wright thinks he probably refers to the *Philopseudes* of Lucian.

⁵ *I cannot tell*] Lat. *Nescio quomodo*, I know not how it is. This was anciently a common meaning of the expression. Thus, in Shakspeare's *K. Rich.* III. i. 3—

same truth is a naked and open day-light, that doth not show the masques, and mummeries, and triumphs¹ of the world half so stately and daintily² as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that showeth best by day ; but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that showeth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would,³ and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunk things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers, in great severity, called poesy *vinum dæmonum*,⁴ because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in and settleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever⁵ these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth,

'I cannot tell :—the world is grown so bad
That wrens make prey where eagles dare not perch.'

¹ *Triumphs*] This word denoted processional pageants and other festal shows exhibited by torchlight. In Shakspeare's *1 K. Henry IV.* iii. 3, Falstaff, referring to the red nose of Bardolph, says to him, 'O, thou art a perpetual triumph, an everlasting bonfire-light !' The title of Bacon's 37th Essay is 'Of Masques and Triumphs.'

² *Daintily*] Nicely ; prettily.

³ *As one would*] According to one's wishes.

⁴ *One of the Fathers, &c.*] Bacon very often quoted from memory, and his verbal memory was often at fault. It has not been ascertained that any of the Fathers calls poetry *vinum dæmonum*, the wine of devils ; but Jerome, in one of his letters to Damasus, says, '*Dæmonum cibus est carmina poetarum*,' and Augustine, in his *Confessions*, i. 16, calls poetry '*vinum erroris*.' In the *Advancement*, II., our author says, 'Did not one of the Fathers, in great indignation, call poesy *vinum dæmonum*, because it increaseth temptations, perturbations, and vain opinions?'

⁵ *Howsoever*] Howsoever it be that.

which only doth judge itself,¹ teacheth, that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it,—is the sovereign good of human nature.²

The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense ; the last was the light of reason ; and his sabbath work ever since is the illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos ; then he breathed light into the face of man ; and still he breatheth and inspireth light³ into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect that was otherwise inferior to the rest,⁴ saith yet excellently well, *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea ; a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle and the adventures thereof below : but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage-ground of truth (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below.*⁵

¹ *Only doth judge itself*] Is the only judge of its own merit.

² *Teacheth, &c.*] The Truth, which is the Word of God, teaches that seeking after Truth, finding it, and having our thoughts, words, and deeds as the offspring of our love of it, is the ‘summun bonum,’ or supreme good, of man.

³ *Inspireth light*] That is, the light of Truth.

⁴ *The poet, &c.*] The poet here meant is Lucretius, and the sect of which he was an ornament is that of Epicurus, a Greek philosopher, who taught that pleasure is the ‘summun bonum’ of human nature.

⁵ *It is a pleasure, &c.*] This is from Lucretius, *De Rerum Naturâ*, ii. 1, but is a very loose paraphrase of the original. Towards the close of Bk. I. of the *Advancement* there is another adaptation of the passage. The following are the words of Lucretius :—

‘Suave mari magno, turbantibus æquora ventis,
E terrâ magnum alterius spectare laborem ; . . .
Suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri,

so¹ always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of civil business : It will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing² is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it : for these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent ; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame, as to be found false and perfidious ; and therefore Montaigne³ saith prettily, when he inquired the reason why the word of *the lie*⁴ should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge :

Per campos instructa, tuâ sine parte pericli ;
Sed nil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere,
Edita doctrinâ sapientum, templa serena,
Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
Errare atque viam palantes quærere vitæ.'

The passage may be thus translated :—It is pleasant to behold from the land the arduous struggling of another upon the great deep, when the winds are tossing the waves ; . . . it is also pleasant to behold the great conflicts of war between marshalled hosts on the plains, yourself having no share in the danger. But nothing is more delightful than to occupy the well-fortified and quiet temples reared by the learning of the wise, from whence you can look down on others, and see them straying in every direction, and wandering about to find the path of life.

¹ *So*] Provided. *So* was often used for *if* or *provided* ; thus, Shakespeare, *Tam. of Shrew*, iv. 3, 'I care not what, so it be wholesome food.'

² *Round dealing*] Direct, straight-forward dealing.

³ *Montaigne*] A celebrated French Essayist, who died in 1592.

⁴ *The word of the lie*] Charging with falsehood was called *giving the lie*, and was sometimes accompanied with *smiting on the mouth*. (See Acts xxiii. 2.)

Saith he, *If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much as to say, that he is brave towards God, and a coward towards men.*¹ For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man. Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men : it being foretold that, when Christ cometh, *he shall not find Faith upon the earth.*²

II. OF DEATH.

Men fear death as children fear to go in the dark : and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin and passage to another world, is holy and religious ; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should

¹ *To say that a man lieth, &c.*] Montaigne's words (*Essais*, ii. 18)—*'Que pent on imaginer plus vilain que d'être couard a l'endroit des hommes et brave a l'endroit de Dieu ?'*—were a comment on a quotation he had just made from Plutarch's *Lysander*, where, according to North's translation, it is said, 'He that deceiveth his enemy, and breaketh his oath to him, sheweth plainly that he feareth him, but that he careth not for God.'

To *give one the lie* was to impute to him a cowardice that was afraid to speak truth, and, in a serious case, challenged him to vindicate his reputation by the *duello*, as an appeal to Providence. Fuller, in his *Profane State*, ch. xii., says, 'He that is called a liar to his face is also called a coward in the same breath, if he swallows it ; and the party charged doth conceive that if he vindicates his valour, his truth will be given him into the bargain.'

² *When Christ cometh, &c.*] Luke xviii. 8, 'Nevertheless, when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth ?'

think with himself what the pain is, if he have but his finger's end pressed, or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved ; when¹ many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb ; for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher and natural man, it was well said, *Pompa mortis magis terret quam mors ipsa*.² Groans, and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and obsequies, and the like, show death terrible.³ It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates⁴ and masters the fear of death : and therefore death is no such terrible enemy, when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death ; love slights it ; honour aspireth to it ; grief flieth to it ; fear pre-occupateth it ; nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself,⁵

¹ *When*] Whereas in point of fact.

² *Pompa mortis, &c.*] The parade of death terrifies more than death itself. Bacon has been supposed to refer here to Seneca as the 'Philosopher and natural man ;' but no such passage has been traced to that author. In a sermon of Latimer's, preached before King Edward VI., I find the words *Horror mortis gravior ipsâ morte* introduced as a familiar saying ; and perhaps Bacon quoted inaccurately.

³ *Groans and convulsions, &c.*] This was probably suggested by a passage in Montaigne's *Essays*, i. 19, 'Je crois à la vérité que ce sont ces mines et appareils effroyables de quoi nous l'entourons qui nous font plus de peur qu'elle,' &c. ; that is, I really believe that it is those frightful looks and apparatus with which we surround death that cause to us greater fear than death itself, &c. Roger Ascham, in his *Toxophilus*, Bk. I., says, 'Fear is ever worse than the thing feared, as is partly proved by the communication of Cyrus and Tigranes the king's son of Armenia, in Xenophon.' (*Cyrop.* III. i. 23.)

Blacks means black drapery, hangings, &c.

⁴ *Mates*] Confounds ; checkmates.

⁵ *After Otho, &c.*] Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 49. Otho stabbed himself, when the defeat of his forces at Bedriacum deprived him of all hope of success.

pity (which is¹ the tenderest of affections) provoked² many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay, Seneca³ adds niceness and satiety: *Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.*⁴ A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits⁵ the approaches of death make; for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Cæsar died in a compliment, *Livia, conjugii nostri memor vive, et vale:*⁶ Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him, *Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant:*⁷ Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, *Ut puto, Deus fio:*⁸ Galba with a sentence,⁹ *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani,*¹⁰ holding forth his neck: Septimius Severus in despatch, *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum;*¹¹ and the like. Certainly

¹ *Which is*] Though it is.

² *Provoked*] Excited.

³ *Seneca*] A celebrated Roman philosopher and moralist, who put himself to death by the command of Nero, A.D. 65.

⁴ *Cogita quamdiu, &c.*] Seneca, *Epist. ad Lucil.* 77. Reflect how long you shall have done the same things over and over again; a man may wish to die not only as being brave or wretched, but even as being cloyed and weary.

⁵ *In good spirits*] The Latin has *In animo generoso et forti.*

⁶ *Livia, conjugii*] Suetonius, *Aug.* 99. Livia, live mindful of our union, and fare thee well.

⁷ *Jam Tiberium, &c.*] Tacitus, *Annal.* vi. 50. Bodily vigour and life were now forsaking Tiberius, but dissimulation was not.

⁸ *Ut puto, &c.*] Suetonius, *Vesp.* 23. I am becoming a god, I suppose. This was meant as a rebuke to his flatterers.

⁹ *A sentence*] A maxim or pithy saying was called a sentence.

¹⁰ *Feri, si ex re, &c.*] Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 41. Strike, if it be for the advantage of the Roman people.

¹¹ *Adeste, &c.*] Dion Cassius, 76, ad fin. Come on, if anything yet remains to be done by me.

the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful.¹ Better saith he *qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponit naturæ*.² It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore, a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolours of death: but, above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, *Nunc dimittis*,³ when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy: *Extinctus amabitur idem*.⁴

III. OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

Religion being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true

¹ *The Stoics bestowed, &c.*] Compare the *Advancement*, II. 'It seemeth to me, that most of the doctrines of the philosophers are more fearful and cautionary than the nature of things requireth. So have they increased the fear of death in offering to cure it. For when they would have a man's whole life to be but a discipline or preparation to die, they must needs make men think that it is a terrible enemy, against whom there is no end of preparing.' The sect of the Stoics was founded by Zeno, and was so called from the *Stoa*, or porch, at Athens, in which he taught. The Stoics aimed at the ascertainment and enjoyment of virtue, and inculcated indifference to outward sources of pleasure and pain.

² *Better saith he, &c.*] The sequel of the above quotation from the *Advancement* is, 'Better saith the poet, *Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponit naturæ*.' This is from Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 357. Bacon here uses the pronoun *he* as the antecedent to the Latin relative: Better saith he who reckons the close of life among the boons of nature. In Juvenal the antecedent is *Fortem animum*, and the verb is *ponat*.

³ *Nunc dimittis*] The song of Simeon: Luke ii. 29.

⁴ *Extinctus, &c.*] Horace, *Ep.* II. i. 14. He shall even be beloved when dead.

band of unity.¹ The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies than in any constant belief : for you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief Doctors² and Fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a jealous God; and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner.³ We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the unity of the church : what are the fruits thereof ; what the bounds ; and what the means.

The fruits of unity (next unto the well pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two : the one, towards those that are without the church, the other, towards those that are within. For the former : it is certain that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest⁴ scandals ; yea, more than corruption of manners. For as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity ; and, therefore, whensoever it cometh to pass that one saith, *ecce in deserto*, another saith, *ecce in penetralibus* ;⁵

¹ *The true band of unity*] Lat. *Veræ unitatis et charitatis vinculis*.

² *Doctors*] Teachers.

³ *He is a jealous God, &c.*] Exod. xx. 5 ; Isai. xlii. 8, ‘ I am the Lord : that is my name ; and my glory will I not give to another.’

⁴ *Of all others the greatest*] So in the *Advancement*, Bk. I., and also in Shakspeare’s *Mids. N. Dream*, v. 1, we have ‘ The greatest error of all the rest.’ In such expressions *of* does not mean *out of*, but *as compared with* ; so that Milton’s well-known comparison between our first parents and their descendants, ‘ Adam, the goodliest man of men since born,’ &c. (*P. L.* iv. 323), does not involve so great a licence of speech as has often been supposed.

⁵ *Ecce in deserto, &c.*] Matt. xxiv. 26, ‘ If they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert : go not forth ; Behold, he is in the secret chambers : believe it not.’ Bacon quoted from the Vulgate.

that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, *nolite exire*, go not out. The doctor of the Gentiles¹ (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without)² saith, *If an heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?*³ And certainly it is little better, when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion: it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them *to sit down in the chair of the scorers*.⁴ It is but a light thing⁵ to be vouched⁶ in so serious a matter, but yet it expresth well the deformity: there is a master of scoffing,⁷ that, in his catalogue of books of a feigned library, sets down this title of a book, *The Morris Dance of Heretics*.⁸

¹ *The doctor of the Gentiles*] St. Paul.—1 Tim. ii. 7, 'A teacher of the Gentiles in faith and verity.' See also 2 Tim. i. 11.

² *The propriety, &c.*] The special nature, &c. Gal. ii. 7, 'The gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter.'

³ *If an heathen come in, &c.*] 1 Cor. xiv. 23, 'If therefore the whole church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad?'

⁴ *To sit down, &c.*] Ps. i., 'Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.'

⁵ *It is but a light thing*] Viz. the circumstance he is about to mention respecting the title of a book. Compare the beginning of the 12th Essay.

⁶ *To be vouched*] To be referred to. Lat. *Ut citetur*.

⁷ *A master of scoffing*] Rabelais, the most distinguished of French humorists. 1483-1553.

⁸ *The Morris-dance of Heretics*] The reference is to the catalogue of the books of the library of St. Victor, in Rabelais' satirical romance of *Pantagruel*, ii. 7. In the name Morris-dance, as in Morris-pike, the word *Morris* is a corruption of Moorish. The Morris, or Morisco, dance was characterised by ludicrous postures and extravagant gesticulations. In Shakspeare's 2 *Hen. VI.* iii. 1, York says, 'I have seen him caper upright like a wild Morisco.'

For, indeed, every sect of them hath a diverse posture, or cringe,¹ by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics,² who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within : it is peace ; which containeth infinite blessings : It establisheth faith ; it kindleth charity. The outward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience ; and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the bounds of unity : the true placing of them importeth exceedingly.³ There appear to be two extremes. For to certain zealants⁴ all speech of pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Jehu ?—What hast thou to do with peace ? turn thee behind me.*⁵ Peace is not the matter, but following and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons⁶ think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty⁷ reconcilements ; as if they would make an arbitrement between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided ; which will be done, if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were, in the two cross clauses thereof, soundly and plainly expounded : *He that is not with us is against us ;* and again, *He that is not against us is with us ;*⁸ that is, if the points fundamental and of substance⁹ in

¹ *Cringe*] Lat. *Gestûs deformitatem*.

² *Depraved politics*] Depraved politicians, or men of depraved policy. Lat. *politici degeneres*.

³ *Importeth exceedingly*] Is exceedingly important.

⁴ *Zealants*] Zealots.

⁵ *Is it peace, &c.*] 2 Kings ix. 18.

⁶ *Laodiceans, &c.*] See Rev. iii. 14-16.

⁷ *Witty*] Ingenious.

⁸ *He that is not, &c.*] Matt. xii. 30, 'He that is not with me is against me.' Luke ix. 50, 'He that is not against us is for us.'

⁹ *Of substance*] Essential.

religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith,¹ but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem² to many a matter trivial, and done already;³ but if it were done less partially,⁴ it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model:⁵ Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two kinds of controversies. The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction; for, as it is noted by one of the Fathers,⁶ Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours; whereupon he saith, *in veste varietas sit, scissura non sit*;⁷

¹ *Not merely of faith*] Which are not purely of faith. Compare the *Advancement*, II. 'Of the fundamental points, our Saviour penneth the league thus: *He that is not with us is against us*;' but of points not fundamental, thus: *He that is not against us is with us*.'

² *May seem*] That may seem. The suppression of a relative subject is not now approved. In Bacon and Shakspeare it is very common.

³ *Done already*] Lat. *In quo quis actum agat*, that is, in which one would take needless pains.

⁴ *Less partially*] Lat. *Minore partium studio*.

⁵ *Model*] Measure or capacity. Lat. *Capitls*.

⁶ *As it is noted, &c.*] The Father here referred to is St. Bernard, *Ad Guillel. Abbat. Apologia*: 'And thus it will be thought that there is no peace, no agreement whatever, in the Church as a whole, which indeed is diversified by so many dissimilar observances, as being that queen which in the Psalm (xlv.) is said to be wrapped round with varieties.' (*Circumamicta varietatibus* is the expression of St. Bernard, and also that in the Vulgate. The Psalter, ver. 10, has 'The queen in a vesture of gold wrought about with divers colours.') Farther on St. Bernard says, 'Christ left, as a token of inheritance to His Church, His own coat, namely the coat of many threads, without seam, woven from the top throughout.' See John xix. 23. Compare the *Advancement*, II. 'We see the coat of our Saviour was entire without seam, and so is the doctrine of the Scriptures in itself; but the garment of the Church was of diverse colours, and yet not divided.'

⁷ *In veste varietas, &c.*] In the vesture there may be various colours, but let there be no rending of it. Bacon often quoted this sentiment.

they be two things,¹ unity and uniformity. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment² which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern³ that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, *Devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ*.⁴ Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning.⁵ There be also two false peaces, or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points. For truth and falsehood,

¹ *They be two things*] They are two distinct things.

² *That distance of judgment*] That comparatively small difference of intellectual power.

³ *Doth not discern*] This should be *doth discern*. Lat. *Deum satis perspicere*.

⁴ *Devita profanas, &c.*] Avoid profane verbal novelties, and oppositions of science falsely so called (1 Tim. vi. 20). Bacon, commenting on this in the *Advancement*, I., says St. Paul 'assigneth two marks and badges of suspected and falsified science: the one, the novelty and strangeness of terms; the other, the strictness of positions, which of necessity doth induce oppositions, and so questions and altercations.'

⁵ *Men create oppositions, &c.*] He refers chiefly to the Schoolmen.

in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image ;¹ they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the means of procuring unity : men must beware that in the procuring or muniting of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal ; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion. But we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it : that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences ; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice² against the State : much less to nourish seditions ; to authorise conspiracies and rebellions ; to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like ; tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God.³ For this is but to dash the First Table⁴ against the Second ; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget⁵ that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed : *Tantum religio potuit suadere majorum*.⁶ What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France,⁷ or the powder treason of England ?

¹ *Nebuchadnezzar's image*] Dan. ii. 33.

² *Practice*] Plotting ; machination. Formerly a common meaning of the term.

³ *The ordinance of God*] Rom. xiii. 1, 'The powers that be are ordained of God.'

⁴ *The First Table*] The Table of the first four Commandments.

⁵ *As we forget*] That we forget ; as to forget.

⁶ *Tantum religio, &c.*] Lucretius, i. 95. Could religion prompt such wicked deeds ? Iphigenia was given up by her father as a sacrifice to appease the wrath of Diana ; but the relenting goddess rescued her.

⁷ *The massacre in France*] The massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's day, August 24th, 1572, by order of Charles IX.

He would have been seven times more epicure¹ and atheist than he was. For as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people; let that be left unto the anabaptists² and other furies. It was great blasphemy, when the devil said, *I will ascend and be like the Highest*;³ but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, *I will descend and be like the Prince of darkness*. And what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of States and Governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set out of⁴ the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins.⁵ Therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod,⁶ do damn,

¹ *Epicure*] Epicurean.

² *The anabaptists*] He alludes to the insurrectionary conduct of the anabaptists in Saxony and Westphalia, in 1525 and 1532. They were so named from being re-baptizers of persons who had been baptized in infancy. At the periods referred to, these fanatics, political as well as religious, rose in rebellion against the government, asserting the unwarrantableness of all civil rule, and of all taxation, and committed the most violent atrocities.

³ *I will ascend, &c.*] Isai. xiv. 14.

⁴ *To set out of*] To set up from; to raise or hoist from. Gosson, in his *School of Abuse*, says 'I have set out the flag of defiance.'

⁵ *Assassins*] The *Assassins* were a secret military and religious order, called also Ismaelites, which was formed in Persia in the eleventh century. What we now call assassination was so expressly allowed, and so commonly practised by them, that the Crusaders introduced the name *assassin* into Europe, as a general appellative for a secret murderer.

⁶ *As by their Mercury rod*] This alludes to the *caduceus* with which Mercury summoned the souls of the dead to the infernal regions. He was the god of eloquence and the patron of learning.

and send to hell for ever, those facts¹ and opinions tending to the support of the same, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in counsels concerning religion, that counsel of the apostle would be prefixed,² *Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei*.³ And it was a notable observation of a wise Father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held and persuaded⁴ pressure of consciences, were commonly interested⁵ therein themselves for their own ends.

IV. OF REVENGE.

Revenge is a kind of wild justice,⁶ which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out. For as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law; but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office.

¹ *Facts*] Deeds. Formerly a common meaning. So Milton, *P. L.* ii. 124, 'He who most excels in fact of arms;' ix. 928, 'Perhaps the fact is not so heinous now;' xi. 457, 'The bloody fact will be avenged.' The term was generally applied to evil deeds. In Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, iii. 6, the murder of Duncan is called 'damned fact.'

² *Would be prefixed*] Ought to have the first place. *Would be*, for *should be*, or *requires to be*, is often met with in our older literature. There are several other examples of it in these *Essays*. See p. 70, note 4.

³ *Ira hominis, &c.*] The wrath of man does not fulfil the righteousness of God. (James i. 20.)

⁴ *Persuaded*] Urged, or advised. Compare 2 Cor. v. 11, 'Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men.' So Shakspeare, *Two Gent* i. 1, 'Cease to persuade, my loving Proteus;' *Merry Wives*, i. 1, 'Sir Hugh, persuade me not;' *Meas. for Meas.* v. 1, 'How I persuaded, how I prayed and kneeled.'

⁵ *Interested*] This is from the French *intéresser*; it often occurs in old authors. Shirley has it in *The Maid's Revenge*, i. 1, 'Where such a noble count is interested;' and Shakspeare in *K. Lear*, i. 1—

'The vines of France and milk of Burgundy
Strive to be interested.'

⁶ *Wild justice*] The metaphor here is from wild flowers.

Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over he is superior: for it is a prince's part to pardon. And Solomon, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence.*¹ That which is past is gone and irrevocable; and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come: therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man doth² a wrong for the wrong's sake; but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong merely out of ill-nature,—why, yet it is but like the thorn or brier, which prick and scratch because they can do no other.³ The most tolerable⁴ sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy: but then, let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish; else a man's enemy is still beforehand,⁵ and it is two for one. Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh: this is the more generous; for the delight seemeth to be, not so much in doing the hurt, as in making the party repent: but base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Cosmus, Duke of Florence,⁶ had a desperate⁷ saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. *You shall read, saith he, that we are commanded to forgive our enemies; but you never read that we are commanded to*

¹ *It is the glory, &c.*] Prov. xix. 11.

² *There is no man doth*] See p. 13, note 2.

³ *They can do no other*] It is their nature to do so. Lat. *Natura sua utuntur.*

⁴ *Tolerable*] Allowable.

⁵ *Is still beforehand*] Is still a gainer. Lat. *Lucrum facit.*

⁶ *Cosmus, Duke of Florence*] Cosmo de' Medici, Duke of Florence, and afterwards Grand Duke of Tuscany, died in 1574. He was a liberal patron of literature and the fine arts.

⁷ *Desperate*] Frantic.

forgive our friends. But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune. *Shall we, saith he, take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?*¹ and so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge, keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges² are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar;³ for the death of Pertinax;⁴ for the death of Henry the Third of France:⁵ and many more. But in private revenges it is not so; nay, rather vindictive persons live the life of witches; who, as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

V. OF ADVERSITY.

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished; but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired:⁶ *Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia.*⁷ Certainly, if miracles be the com-

¹ *Shall we, &c.*] Job ii. 10.

² *Public revenges*] Penalties legally decreed by the state.

³ *That for the death of Cæsar*] He alludes to the issue of the battle at Philippi, and the accession of Augustus to sovereign power.

⁴ *The death of Pertinax*] Pertinax was the successor of the emperor Commodus, but reigned only about three months. He was murdered by some of the turbulent Prætorians, A.D. 193. Severus afterwards put the murderers to death, and disarmed and banished the Prætorians.

⁵ *The death of Henry the Third, &c.*] The Latin has *Cædem Henrici Quarti, magni illius Gallie regis.* Henry III. of France was assassinated, in 1589, by Jacques Clément, a fanatical Jacobin monk. His successor, Henry IV., not, however, generally acknowledged king till 1598, was stabbed to death, in his carriage, by Ravailac, in 1610. Henry IV. was as remarkable for good qualities as his predecessor for tyranny and profligacy.

⁶ *Admired*] Wondered at. The verb to *admire* formerly signified to wonder at, whether approvingly or otherwise.

⁷ *Bona rerum, &c.*] *Ad Lucil.* 66.

mand over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen): it is true greatness to have in one¹ the frailty of a man, and the security of a God: *Vere magnum, habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.*² This would have done better in poesy, where transcendences are more allowed. And the poets, indeed, have been busy with it; for it is, in effect, the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets,³ which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian: that Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus (by whom human nature is represented), sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher: lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh thorough the waves of the world.⁴ But to speak in a mean:⁵ the virtue of prosperity is temperance; the virtue of adversity is fortitude: which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; adversity is the blessing of the New:⁶ which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to

¹ *In one*] At once; together.

² *Vere magnum, &c.*] *Ad Lucil.* 53. Bacon omits *simul* after *habere*; but, in his translation, represents it by the expression 'in one.'

³ *The ancient poets*] Apollodorus, Stesichorus, &c.

⁴ *Hercules, when he went, &c.*] Compare our author's *Wisdom of the Ancients (Prometheus)*: 'It is elegantly added, for the consolation and confirmation of men's minds, that this noble hero crossed the ocean in a cup or pan, lest, peradventure, they might too much fear that the straits and frailty of their nature will not be capable of this fortitude and constancy. Of which very thing Seneca well conceived, when he said, *Magnum est habere simul fragilitatem hominis et securitatem Dei.*'

⁵ *But to speak in a mean*] Lat. *Verum ut a granditate verborum ad mediocritatem descendamus.*

⁶ *Prosperity is the blessing, &c.*] Compare Deut. xxviii. 1-13, with Matt. v. 1-12.

David's harp, you shall hear as many hearselike¹ airs as carols: and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad² and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant where they are incensed,³ or crushed; for prosperity doth best discover⁴ vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

VI. OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.

Dissimulation is but a faint kind of policy, or wisdom; for it asketh⁵ a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it: therefore it is the weaker sort of politics⁶ that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, *Livia sorted well⁷ with the arts of her hus-*

¹ *Hearse-like*] Funereal.

² *Sad*] Dull.

³ *Incensed*] Burnt; made to exhale perfume by burning.

⁴ *Discover*] Show. The concluding portion of this Essay, from 'Prosperity is the blessing,' was added in 1625, when the author was in his 65th year, and is referred to by Macaulay as a proof that Bacon's fancy did not decay with the approach of old age.

⁵ *It asketh*] It requires. So used again in the 10th and 33rd Essays. Compare Milton's *Sams. Agon.* 65, 'Each apart would ask a life to wail;' Shakspeare's *Mids. N. Dr.* i. 2, 'That will ask some tears in the true performing of it;' Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*, 'And all this asketh leisure to enquire.'

⁶ *Politics*] *Politicians.* Fr. *politiques.*

⁷ *Livia sorted well, &c.*] Tacitus, *Ann.* v. 1, 'Cum artibus mariti simulatione filii bene composita.' *Sorted* is *suited*.

band, and dissimulation of her son; attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius. And again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, *We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius.*¹ These properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are, indeed, habits and faculties several,² and to be distinguished. For if a man have that penetration of judgment, as³ he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be showed at half lights, and to whom, and when (which, indeed, are arts of State, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them),⁴ to him a habit of dissimulation is a hindrance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain to⁵ that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler. For where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general; like the going softly by⁶ one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest men that ever were, have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty⁷ and veracity; but then they were like horses well managed;⁸ for they could tell

¹ *We rise not, &c.*] Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 76, 'Non adversus divi Augusti acerrimam mentem, nec adversus Tiberii cautissimam senectutem.'

² *Several*] Of different minds.

³ *As*] That, or as that.

⁴ *As Tacitus well calleth them*] *Ann.* iii. 70. 'Egregium publicum et bonas domi artes.'

⁵ *Obtain to*] *Attain to*. So in the *Advancement*, I., 'In the degrees of human honour amongst the heathen, it was the highest to obtain to a veneration and adoration as a God;' and Sir Ph. Sydney, in his *Apology for Poetry*, says, 'The poets have obtained to the high top of their profession.'

⁶ *By*] Past.

⁷ *A name of certainty*] The credit of sincerity.

⁸ *Well managed*] Well trained. From the Fr. *manège*, a riding-house. Lat. *Bene docti et domiti*.

passing well¹ when to stop or turn : and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad of their good faith and clearness of dealing made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self. The first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy ; when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is.² The second, dissimulation in the negative : when a man lets fall signs and arguments,³ that he is not that he is. And the third, simulation in the affirmative ; when a man industriously⁴ and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, secrecy: It is indeed the virtue of a confessor ; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions ; for who will open himself to a blab or a babbler ? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery ;⁵ as the more close air sucketh in the more open : and as, in confession, the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart ; so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind ; while men rather discharge⁶ their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides (to say truth) nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body ; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not

¹ *Passing well*] Surpassingly or exceedingly well ; very readily. So Shakspeare, *Two Gent.* iv. 4, 'Is she not passing fair?' *Oth.* i. 3, 'T was passing strange ;' *Ham.* ii. 2, 'The which he loved passing well.'

² *Without observation, &c.*] Without anything for observation, or without anything tangible as to what he is.

³ *Arguments*] Indications.

⁴ *Industriously*] Laboriously ; with painstaking.

⁵ *Inviteth discovery*] Encourages disclosure. To *discover* formerly often meant to reveal or show.

⁶ *Discharge*] Disburden ; exonerate.

altogether open. As for talkers, and futile persons, they are commonly vain¹ and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, that a habit of secrecy is both politic and moral.² And in this part it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak.³ For the discovery of a man's self by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weakness and betraying ; by how much it is, many times, more marked and believed than a man's words.⁴

For the second, which is dissimulation ; it followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity : so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree. For men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way ; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches,⁵ they

¹ *Vain*] Light ; silly.

² *Moral*] Right.

³ *Give his tongue, &c.*] Let speaking be reserved for his tongue only. Lat. *Ut vultus suus linguæ officium non præripiat.*

⁴ *The discovery, &c.*] The revealing of a man's self by the traits or features of his countenance, &c. This reminds us of the maxim in Sir Henry Wootton's Letter to the author of *Comus* : '*I pensieri stretti et il viso sciolto* * will go safely over the whole world.' Compare the *Advancement*, II., 'That more trust be given to countenances and deeds than to words : and, in words, rather to sudden passages and surprised words than to set and purposed words. Neither let that be feared which is said, *fronti nulla fides* (Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. 8) ; which is meant of a general outward behaviour, and not of the private and subtile motions and labours of the countenance and gesture.'

⁵ *Oraculous speeches*] Ambiguous speeches, as the oracular responses often were : *ex. gr.* that given to Pyrrhus, *Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse*, I say that you, grandson of Æacus, the Romans are able

* The thoughts close and the countenance loose.

cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters. And, therefore, a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice rising either of a natural falseness, or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults ; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure.¹

The advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise. For where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat : for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall. The third is, the better to discover the mind of another. For to him that opens himself, men will hardly show themselves adverse ; but will (fair) let him go on,² and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought. And, therefore, it is a good shrewd proverb³ of the Spaniard, *Tell a lie, and*

to conquer. So Croesus was encouraged to pass the river Halys, when he was told that he would thereby destroy a great empire. He supposed Persia to be meant ; but the empire which he destroyed was his own.

¹ *Out of ure*] Out of practice. *Ure* is from the Fr. *œuvre*, as *manure* is from *manœuvre*. Hence our verb to *inure*. So in the *Advancement*, II., 'No other method than that which brute beasts are capable of, and do put in ure ;' in North's Plutarch, 'Lycurgus taking singular pleasure and delight in his mind to see his notable laws put in ure ;' in Gosson's *School of Abuse*, 'To sweep motes from their kirtles, to keep their fingers in ure ;' and again, 'Ofentimes he slew one or other at home, to keep his fingers in ure.'

² *Will (fair) let him go on*] Lat. *Assentabitur potius*.

³ *A good shrewd proverb*] A very shrewd or mischievous proverb.

find a troth :¹ as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even.² The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness, which, in any business, doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark.³ The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits⁴ of many that, perhaps, would otherwise co-operate with him; and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and greatest is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature⁵ is : to have openness in fame and opinion ;⁶ secrecy in habit ; dissimulation in seasonable use ; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.

VII. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

The joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears ; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not⁷ utter the other. Children sweeten labours ; but they make misfortunes more bitter : they increase the cares of life ; but

¹ *Find a troth*] Bring out a truth. Compare the *Advancement*, II., 'They open themselves ; especially if they be put to it with a counter-dissimulation, according to the proverb of Spain, *Di mentira, y sacaras verdad*.' Singer says, 'The Spanish proverb is *Decir mentira para sacar verdad*, and is applied to those who simulate to know things of which they are ignorant.'

² *To set it even*] To make an equipoise for it.

³ *Doth spoil the feathers, &c.*] Spoils the feathers for flying directly up to the mark. An allusion to archery. See p. 5, note 2.

⁴ *Conceits*] Conceptions.

⁵ *Temperature*] Temperament.

⁶ *Opinion*] Reputation.

⁷ *Nor they will not*] Such double negation is often met with in old writers. Thus in Shakspeare's *Merch. of Ven.* iv. 1, 'So can I give no reason, nor I will not ;' *K. John*, v. 7, 'This England never did, nor never shall.'

they mitigate the remembrance of death.¹ The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts ; but memory, merit, and noble works are proper to men : and surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed : so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children ; beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work ; and so both children and creatures.²

The difference in affection of parents towards their several children, is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy ; especially in the mother ; as Solomon saith, *A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother.*³ A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons ;⁴ but in the midst, some that are, as it were, forgotten, who many times nevertheless prove the best. The illiberality of parents, in allowance towards their children, is a harmful error ; makes them base ; acquaints them with shifts ; makes them sort with mean company ; and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty : and therefore the proof is best when men keep their authority towards⁵ their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and schoolmasters, and servants), in

¹ *They mitigate the remembrance of death*] See p. 29, note I.

² *Creatures*] Things created ; persons made by them.

³ *A wise son, &c.*] Prov. x. I, 'A wise son maketh a glad father, but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.' Bacon's comment on this in the *Advancement*, II., is : 'Here is distinguished, that fathers have most comfort of the good proof of their sons ; but mothers have most discomfort of their ill proof, because women have little discerning of virtue, but of fortune.'

⁴ *Made wantons*] Made play-things ; petted.

⁵ *Towards*] With respect to.

creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth¹ to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews, or near kinsfolk ; but so² they be of the lump, they care not though they pass not through their own body. And, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter ; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle, or a kinsman, more than his own parent, as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take ; for then they are most flexible : and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition³ of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it ; but generally the precept is good, *optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo*.⁴ Younger brothers are commonly fortunate ; but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

VIII. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune ; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men ; which, both in affection and

¹ *Sorteth*] Conduces.

² *So*] Provided. See p. 5, note 1.

³ *Apply themselves, &c.*] Accommodate themselves to, or study, the disposition. So in the *Advancement*, I., it is said of learned men ‘that they fail sometimes in applying themselves to particular persons ;’ and again : ‘Not that I can tax or condemn the morigeration or application of learned men to men in fortune.’

⁴ *Optimum elige, &c.*] Choose what is most advantageous, habit will make it agreeable and easy. This was a maxim of Pythagoras.

means, have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times ; unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges.¹ Some there are, who though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences.² Nay, there are some other, that account wife and children but as bills of charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer. For, perhaps, they have heard some talk, *Such a one is a great rich man* ; and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of children* : as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty ; especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds,³ which are so sensible of every restraint, as⁴ they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants ; but not always best subjects ; for they are light to run away ; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen ;⁵ for

¹ *Yet it were, &c.*] Compare the *Advancement*, beginning of Bk. II. 'Those which are fruitful in their generations, and have in themselves the foresight of immortality in their descendants, should likewise be more careful of the good estate of future times, unto which they know they must transmit and commend over their dearest pledges.' (See Cicero's *Tusc. Quest.* i. 38.)

² *Impertinences*] Not pertaining to them ; no concern of theirs.

³ *Humorous minds*] Minds swayed by a predominating humour. The human disposition was supposed to be constituted by the four temperaments or complexions, phlegm, blood, choler, and melancholy, variously compounded of the four elements. A person in whom some mood predominated was called *humorous*. Thus in Shaksp. *K. John*, iii. 1, Fortune is called 'her humorous ladyship ;' in *As You Like It*, i. 2, 'The duke is humorous,' that is, moody, or ill-natured.

⁴ *As*] That.

⁵ *Churchmen*] Clergymen.

charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates: for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly, in their hortatives, put men in mind of their wives and children. And I think the despising of marriage amongst the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier¹ more base. Certainly, wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust; yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hard-hearted (good to make severe inquisitors), because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands; as was said of Ulysses, *vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati*.² Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity and obedience in the wife, if she think her husband wise; which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses; companions for middle age; and old men's nurses. So as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will.³ But yet he was reputed one of the wise men, that made answer to the question, when a man should marry:—*A young man not yet,*

¹ *Vulgar soldier*] Common soldier.

² *Vetulam suam, &c.*] He preferred his old spouse to a condition of immortality. Cicero says it was Ithaca which Ulysses preferred to the immortality offered by Calypso. (*De Orat.* i. 44).

³ *So as a man, &c.*] So that a man may have a cause, or plea, &c. The noun *quarrel* was sometimes used for *cause*. In Shaksp. *Macb.* i. 2, we have 'And Fortune on his damned quarrel smiling;'; in Latimer's *Sermons* there are several instances, as in the *Serm. for Christmas Day*, 'To live and die in God's quarrel.' For *quarrel* the Lat. has *ansa*, that is, a handle, figuratively, an occasion. In Coles's *Latin Dictionary* we have *Quarrel* = *Causa*, *Lis*

*an elder man not at all.*¹ It is often seen, that bad husbands have very good wives : whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husbands' kindness when it comes ; or that the wives take a pride in their patience. But this² never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent ; for then they will be sure to make good³ their own folly.

IX. OF ENVY.

There be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate, or bewitch, but love and envy. They both have vehement wishes ; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions ; and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects : which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see likewise, the Scripture calleth envy an evil eye ;⁴ and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars evil aspects : so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation,⁵ or irradiation of the eye. Nay, some have been so curious as to note, that the times when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are, when the party envied is beheld in

¹ *A young man, &c.*] Thales of Miletus, one of the seven wise men of Greece, when first urged by his mother to marry, said, 'It is too soon for me ;' when he was older she renewed the entreaty, and he answered, 'It is now too late.' The other sages were Solon of Athens, Bias of Priène, Chilo of Sparta, Pittacus of Mitylene, Cleobûlus of Rhodes, and Periander of Corinth.

² *This*] This patience.

³ *Make good*] Maintain, or bear out ; avoid seeming to repent.

⁴ *An evil eye*] *Envy*, from the Lat. *invidia*, denotes a *looking* with jealous ill-will on some superiority in another. Matth. xx. 15, 'Is thine eye evil because I am good ?'

⁵ *An ejaculation*] A darting glance.

glory or triumph ; for that sets an edge upon envy : and besides, at such times, the spirits¹ of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place), we will handle, what persons are apt to envy others ; what persons are most subject to be envied themselves ; and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself, ever envieth virtue in others. For men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others' evil ; and who wanteth the one, will prey upon the other ; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand² by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious : for to know much of other men's matters cannot be because all that ado may concern his own estate : therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play pleasure³ in looking upon the fortunes of others ; neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy. For envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home : *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.*⁴

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men⁵ when they rise, for the distance is altered ; and it is

¹ *The spirits*] Bacon entertained the medical opinion of his day, that the arteries were used for the transmission of the vital spirits. Shaksp. *Love's Lab. Lost*, iv. 3, says, 'Universal plodding prisons up the nimble spirits in the arteries.'

² *To come at even hand*] To be even; to make up for it.

³ *Play-pleasure*] Pleasure like that of seeing a play.

⁴ *Non est curiosus, &c.*] No one is a busybody without being malevolent. The passage is from the *Stichus* of Plautus.

⁵ *New men*] Among the Romans *novus homo* denoted a man lately ennobled, not being of a noble family.

like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons, and eunuchs, and old men, and bastards, are envious : for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's ; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour : in that it should be said, that a eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters ; affecting¹ the honour of a miracle : as it was in Narses² the eunuch, and Agesilaus³ and Tamerlane,⁴ that were lame men.

The same is the case of men who rise after calamities and misfortunes ; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever envious ; for they cannot want work ; it being impossible but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them : Which was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters, and artificers in works wherein he had a vein⁵ to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolks and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals

¹ *Affecting*] Desiring ; aiming at.

² *Narses*] By order of the emperor Justinian, Narses superseded Belisarius in the command of the armies of Italy. He defeated Totila, king of the Goths.

³ *Agesilaus*] King of Sparta. In North's *Plutarch* we read that 'his life and courage was the more commendable in him, for that men saw that notwithstanding his lameness he refused no pain nor labour.'

⁴ *Tamerlane*] Tamerlane, or Timour, ruler of Turkestan, died in 1405. His capital was Samarcand.

⁵ *A vein*] A humour, or liking.

when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others ;¹ and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because, when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was nobody to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy : First, persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied. For their fortune seemeth but due unto them ; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self ; and where there is no comparison, no envy ; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted, that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better ; whereas, contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre ; for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising ; for it seemeth but right done to their birth. Besides, there seemeth not so much added to their fortune ; and envy is as the sun-beams, that beat hotter upon a bank or steep rising ground than upon a flat. And, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied, than those that are advanced suddenly, and *per saltum*.²

Those that have joined with their honour great travails, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy : for men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes ; and pity ever healeth envy : wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in

¹ *Incurreth, &c.*] Also comes more under the notice of others.

² *Per saltum*] By a leap (over the heads of others).

their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a *quanta patimur*:¹ not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge² of envy. But this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For nothing increaseth envy more, than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business: and nothing doth extinguish envy more, than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places: for, by that means, there be so many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner: being never well but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition; whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice³ to envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding, so much is true: that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so⁴ it be without arrogancy and vain-glory), doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion. For in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part: As we said in the beginning, that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft; so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft:

¹ *Quanta patimur*] How great our troubles are.

² *Abate the edge*] Blunt the edge, Lat. *aciem retundant*. To *bate*, or *rebate*, Fr. *battre*, to beat down, often signifies, in old authors, to make blunt the edge or point of a weapon. Compare Shakspeare, *Ham.* iv. 7, 'You may choose a sword unbated;' *Love's Lab. Lost*, i. 1, 'Honour which shall bate his scythe's keen edge;' and *Meas. for Meas.* i. 4, 'Rebate and blunt his natural edge.'

³ *Do sacrifice*] Make some sacrifice.

⁴ *So*] Provided. See p. 5, note 1.

and that is, to remove the lot¹ (as they call it), and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage² somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves: sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like: and, for that turn,³ there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking⁴ natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy: There is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none. For public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great; and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word *invidia*, goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontentment; of which we shall speak in handling sedition. It is a disease in a State like to infection; for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it, so, when envy is gotten once into a State, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour. And therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions:⁵ for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more; as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon Kings and Estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon

¹ *To remove the lot*] An allusion to crossing spells, by which the doom allotted by witchcraft to one person was transferred to another.

² *Upon the stage*] Into public view.

³ *For that turn*] To serve that turn.

⁴ *Undertaking*] Venturesome. Lat. *temeraria*.

⁵ *Intermingling, &c.*] Intermingling of pleasing and popular actions with those which have excited envy.

the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small ; or if the envy be general, in a manner, upon all the ministers of an Estate ; then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the State itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy : that of all other affections it is the most importune¹ and continual. For of other affections there is occasion given but now and then ; and therefore it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit*,² for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved ; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called *the envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night* :³ as it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

X. OF LOVE.

The stage is more beholding⁴ to love than the life of man. For as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies ; but in life it doth much mischief ; sometimes like a siren, sometimes like a fury.

¹ *Of all other affections, &c.*] See p. 10 note 4. *Importune* = importunate ; common in Spenser ; see *F. Q.* II. x. 15, and xi. 7.

² *Invidia festos, &c.*] Envy keeps no holidays.

³ *The envious man, &c.*] Matth. xiii. 25, 'While men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat.'

⁴ *Beholding*] Held in obligation ; indebted. We now say *beholden*. This is no part of our present verb *to behold*, but a corrupted form of *gehealden*, participle of the Anglo-Saxon verb *healdan*, to hold. The form *beholding*, for *beholden*, occurs very often in our old literature.

You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent, there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love: which shows that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, the half-partner of the empire of Rome ;¹ and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and law-giver ;² whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate ; but the latter was an austere and wise man : and therefore it seems (though rarely) that love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of Epicurus, *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus* :³ as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven, and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself subject, though not of the mouth⁴ (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion ; and how it braves⁵ the nature and value of things ; by this,⁶ that the speaking in a perpetual

¹ *The half-partner, &c.*] After the death of Julius Cæsar, a triumvirate was formed by Antony, Octavianus, and Lepidus, which was soon reduced to a duumvirate by the retirement of Lepidus. Antony's passion for Cleopatra made him negligent of his most important duties, and ruined his fortunes. He died by suicide in Egypt.

² *Appius Claudius, &c.*] Virginius, it is said, killed his own daughter Virginia, to prevent her being dishonoured by Claudius. This is the alleged cause of the downfall of the Decemvirs, who had been employed in framing the code of laws afterwards called 'The Laws of the Twelve Tables.'

³ *Satis magnum, &c.*] We are to each other a large enough sphere of contemplation. (Seneca, *Epist. Moral.* i. 7.) Bacon in the *Advancement*, Bk. I., calls this 'a speech for a lover, and not for a wise man.'

⁴ *Of the mouth*] To be led or governed by the mouth.

⁵ *Braves*] Sets at nought ; triumphs over.

⁶ *By this*] Lat. *Vel hoc ipso*. Even in this ; insomuch.

hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love. Neither is it merely in the phrase ; for whereas it hath been well said, that *the arch-flatterer*, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence,¹ *is a man's self*,² certainly the lover is more. For there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved ; and therefore it was well said, that *it is impossible to love and be wise*.³ Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all : except the love be reciproque. For it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded, either with the reciproque, or with an inward and secret contempt. By how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation doth well figure them : that *he that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas*:⁴ for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath his⁵ floods in the very times of

¹ *Have intelligence*] Are in concert. Lat. *conspirant*.

² *Is a man's self*] It was Plutarch who said, '*Every man is himself the first and greatest flatterer of himself*.' So in the 27th Essay, 'There is no such flatterer as is a man's self ;' and again in the 53rd Essay, 'He will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self.'

³ *It is impossible, &c.*] '*Amare et sapere vix deo conceditur*,' is one of the apophthegms of Publius Syrus. In the *Advancement*, Bk. II., Bacon says, 'My hope is that, if my extreme love to learning carry me too far, I may obtain the excuse of affection ; for that *it is not granted to man to love and to be wise*.' So Shakspeare, *Troil. & Cress.* iii. 2—

'For to be wise, and love,
Exceeds man's might ; that dwells with gods above.'

⁴ *He that preferred, &c.*] He refers to the judgment of Paris. Ovid, *Heroid.* xvi. The son of Priam, being chosen arbiter in a dispute as to which of the goddesses, Juno, Minerva, and Venus, was the most beautiful, decided in favour of Venus.

⁵ *His*] Its. *His* is the old neuter possessive. In the Bible *its* occurs only once (Levit. xxv. 5), and that by a misprint.

weakness, which are, great prosperity and great adversity ; though this latter hath been less observed : both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore show it to be the child of folly. They do best, who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter,¹ and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life : for if it check² once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love : I think it is but as³ they are given to wine ; for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others ; which, if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable ; as it is seen sometime in friars. [Nuptial love maketh mankind ; friendly love perfecteth it ; but wanton love corrupteth and imbaseth⁴ it.] *

XI. OF GREAT PLACE.

Men in great Place⁵ are thrice servants : servants of the Sovereign or State ; servants of fame ;⁶ and servants of business. So as⁷ they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange

¹ *Make it keep quarter*] That is, order. Lat. *In ordinem redigunt*. Compare Shaksp. *K. John*, v. 5, 'Keep good quarter and good care to-night ;' *Oth.* ii. 3, 'Friends all but now, even now in quarter ;' *Com. of Err.* ii. 1, 'So he would keep fair quarter with his bed.'

² *Check*] Interfere. In the 31st Essay he says of suspicions that 'they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly.'

³ *But as*] Just as.

⁴ *Imbaseth*] Degrades.

⁵ *In great Place*] Lat. *In magistratu collocati*. Place is official dignity or authority.

⁶ *Fame*] Reputation.

⁷ *So as*] So that.

desire, to seek power, and to lose liberty ; or to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto Place is laborious ; and by pains men come to greater pains : and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery ; and the regress is either a downfal, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.*¹ Nay, retire men cannot when they would ; neither will they when it were reason,² but are impatient of privateness even in age and sickness, which require the shadow :³ like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly, great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions⁴ to think themselves happy ; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it : but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy, as it were, by report ; when, perhaps, they find the contrary within. For they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly, men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves ; and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind.

Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui, notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur sibi.⁵

¹ *Cum non sis, &c.*] Cicero, *Epist. Fam.* That when you are not what you have been, there is no reason why you should wish to live.

² *It were reason*] It would be reasonable. Compare in Scripture, Acts vi. 2, 'It is not reason that we should leave,' &c.

³ *The shadow*] The shade ; a quiet retreat.

⁴ *To borrow, &c.*] To adopt the opinions which other men have of them.

⁵ *Illi mors, &c.*] Seneca, *Thyest.* ii. 401. 'Death presses heavily on him who, very well known to all others, dies unknown to himself.'

In Place, there is licence to do good and evil ; whereof the latter is a curse ; for in evil the best condition is not to will, the second not to can.¹ But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring. For good thoughts, though God accept them, yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act ; and that cannot be without power and Place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion ;² and conscience³ of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest. For if a man can be partaker of God's theatre,⁴ he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis ;*⁵ and then the sabbath.⁶ In the discharge of thy Place set before thee the best examples ; for imitation is a globe of precepts.⁷ And after a time set before thee thine own example ; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same Place : not to set off thyself by taxing their memory ; but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform therefore without bravery,⁸ or

¹ *To can*] To know how ; to be able. A. S. Cunnan, to know.

² *The end, &c.*] The proper object of man's labours.

³ *Conscience*] Consciousness.

⁴ *Theatre*] Contemplation. See p. 38, note 4. Bacon refers to a man that can contemplate his own works, as God did, and see that they are good. The word *theatre* is the Greek θέατρον, from θεδραι, to behold.

⁵ *Et conversus, &c.*] And God, having looked round upon the works which his hands created, saw that they all were very good. Gen i. 31.

⁶ *The sabbath*] The word *sabbath* signifies rest.

⁷ *A globe of precepts*] One of the meanings of the Latin *globus* is a crowd gathered round anything. Thus Virgil, *Æn.* x. 373, 'Quæ globus ille virum densissimus urget ;' and hence Milton, *P. L.* ii. 512, 'Him round a globe of fiery Seraphim enclosed.' *A globe of precepts* is a body or collection of counsels.

⁸ *Bravery*] Boasting ; ostentation ; elation.

scandal of former times and persons ; but yet set it down¹ to thyself as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce² things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate ; but yet ask counsel of both times : of the ancient time what is best ; and of the latter time what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular ;³ that men may know beforehand what they may expect : but be not too positive and peremptory ; and express thyself well⁴ when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy Place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction ; and rather assume thy right in silence, and *de facto*,⁵ than voice it⁶ with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior Places ; and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy Place ; and do not drive away such as bring thee information, as meddlers,⁷ but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four : delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays :⁸ give easy access ; keep times appointed ; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption : do not only bind thine own hands or thy servant's hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering. For integrity used doth the one ; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other : and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause,

¹ *Set it down*] Propose ; prescribe.

² *Reduce*] Refer.

³ *Regular*] An observance of rules.

⁴ *Express thyself well*] Lat. *Quid sit quod agas diligenter expone*.

⁵ *De facto*] As a matter of fact.

⁶ *Voice it*] Utter or assert it.

⁷ *Do not drive away, &c.*] Do not drive away, as meddlers or intrusive persons, such as bring, &c.

⁸ *For delays*] As regards, or with respect to, delays.

giveth suspicion of corruption. Therefore, always, when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change; and do not think to steal it.¹ A servant or a favourite, if he be inward,² and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness: it is a needless cause of discontent;³ severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility:⁴ it is worse than bribery.⁵ For bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without. As Solomon saith: *To respect persons is not good; for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread.*⁶ It is most true that was anciently spoken, 'A Place sheweth the man;' and it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse: *Omnium consensu, capax*

¹ *To steal it*] That you can do such a thing stealthily.

² *Inward*] In your counsels or confidence; intimate with you. Compare Shakspeare, *Rich. III.* iii. 4, 'Who is most inward with the noble duke?' and *Meas. for Meas.* iii. 2, 'I was an inward of his.'

³ *Discontent*] Ill-will.

⁴ *Facility*] Proneuess to yield or comply.

⁵ *Bribery*] The taking of bribes. In the *Advancement*, II., he says, 'A judge were better be a briber (that is, a taker of bribes) than a respecter of persons; for a corrupt judge offendeth not so highly as a facile.' In Latimer's 3rd Serm. before Edward VI. we have, 'All the rulers are bribers.'

⁶ *To respect persons, &c.*] Prov. xxviii. 21.

⁷ *A Place sheweth the man*] Lat. *Magistratus virum indicat.* The saying originated with some one of the seven sages of Greece. Epaminondas quoted and enlarged it, when his enemies thought to degrade him by making him overseer of the customs, while others, inferior to him in merit, were placed in higher offices. In Sir Thomas North's *Epaminondas*, added to his translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, it is said, 'He despised not this office, but did discharge it very faithfully; for, said he, office or authority sheweth not only what the man is, but also the man what the office is.' (Plut. *Præc. Civ.*)

imperii, nisi imperasset, saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith: *solus imperantium, Vespasianus mutatus in melius*:¹ though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection.² It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends. For honour is, or should be, the Place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great Place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self³ whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible, or too remembering, of thy Place, in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, When he sits in Place he is another man.

XII. OF BOLDNESS.

It is a trivial grammar-school text,⁴ but yet worthy a wise man's consideration:—Question was asked of Demosthenes,

¹ *Omnium consensu, &c.*] It was generally allowed that Galba was capable of rule, unless he had ruled. Compared with all the preceding emperors, Vespasian alone was changed for the better by becoming emperor.—Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 49, 50.

² *Affection*] Disposition.

³ *To side a man's self*] This, perhaps, means to take the help of some side support. The Latin, however, is *Alteri parti adharere*; but Wright says 'here the translator seems to have missed the point.'

⁴ *It is a trivial grammar-school text*] Viz. what he is about to mention. See p. II, note 5. Text here seems to mean a suggestive saying or statement. The Latin has *Tritum est dictorium*. (Gr. *δευκθήριον*.)

what was the chief part¹ of an orator? he answered, action : what next? action : what next again? action. He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest: nay, almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise, and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken, are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of boldness in civil business: What first? boldness : what second and third? boldness. And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts. But, nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot, those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part : yea, and prevaieth with wise men at weak times ; therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular States,² but with senates and princes less ; and more³ ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action, than soon after ; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are mountebanks⁴ for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body : men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call a hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law.

¹ *Part*] Qualification.

² *Popular States*] Democracies.

³ *And more*] And prevaieth more.

⁴ *Mountebanks*] A *mountebank*, from the Italian *montare* and *banco*, denotes one who mounts a bench or platform to proclaim the merits of medicines which he sells.

The people assembled; Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again: and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, 'If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill.' So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness), they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly, to men of great judgment bold persons are a sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also, boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous: for if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity: especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance; for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture,¹ as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay, like a stale² at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir: but this last were fitter for a satire, than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind,³ for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences; therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution: so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds, and under the direction of others. For in counsel it is good to see dangers; and in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

¹ *Wooden posture*] *Wooden* here denotes *blockish*, or like that of a blockhead. So in Shakspeare's *1 K. Hen. VI.* v. 3, Suffolk calls the king 'a wooden thing.'

² *A stale*] A stalemate in chess is the position of the king when, though not in check, he cannot move without being placed in check.

³ *Boldness is ever blind*] Bohn, in his *Hand-Book of Proverbs*, has, 'Who so bold as blind Bayard? Ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δ' ὄκνον φέρει: Ignorance breeds confidence; consideration, slowness and wariness.' (Thucyd. II. 40.)

XIII. OF GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I take goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia ; and the word humanity (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature the inclination. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity ; and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue charity, and admits no excess but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall ; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall : but in charity there is no excess ; neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man : insomuch, that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures ; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds : insomuch, as Busbechius¹ reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl.² Errors, indeed, in this virtue of goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb ; *Tanto buon che val niente*, so good, that he is good for nothing. And one of the doctors of Italy,

¹ *Busbechius*] Busbec, or Busbequius, a learned Fleming, was ambassador of the emperor Ferdinand to the sultan Solymán II. (1554.)

² *A Christian boy, &c.*] Bacon here does not remember rightly the story in Busbec's *Legationis Turcicæ Ep.* The Lat. translation thus corrects him : *Aurifex quidam Venetus, Byzantii agens, vix furorem populi effugerit, quod avis cujusdam, rostri oblongi, fauces, inserto baculo, diduxisset* : A certain Venetian goldsmith, living at Constantinople, with difficulty escaped the rage of the people, for having distended, by the insertion of a stick, the jaws of some long-billed bird.

Nicholas Machiavel,¹ had the confidence to put in writing almost in plain terms, *That the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust*.² which he spake, because, indeed, there was never law, or sect, or opinion, did so much magnify goodness as the Christian religion doth. Therefore, to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of a habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men; but be not in bondage to their faces and fancies: for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had had a barley-corn.³ The example of God teacheth the lesson truly: *He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine, upon the just and unjust*;⁴ but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues, upon men equally. Common benefits are to be communicate with all; but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in making the portraiture thou breakest the pattern: for divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern,⁵ the love of our neighbours but the portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me*:⁶ but

¹ *Machiavel*] Machiavelli, a Florentine statesman, died in 1527. His name is most noted for the policy of craft and artifice which he recommended in his treatise *Il Principe* ('The Prince'). The word *Machiavellism* has come to denote political cunning, perfidiousness, and persecution, in the maintenance of arbitrary power.

² *That the Christian faith, &c.*] This is from Machiavel's *Discorsi sopra Livio* ('Discourses on the First Decade of Livy'), ii. 2.

³ *Neither give thou, &c.*] He alludes to Æsop's fable of the cock who, having found a gem on a dunghill, said that he would have been much better pleased if it had been a grain of barley.

⁴ *He sendeth his rain, &c.*] Matt. v. 45.

⁵ *Maketh the love, &c.*] He here explains the form of the precept 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;' in which the words *as thyself* express 'the pattern.'

⁶ *Sell all that thou hast, &c.*] Mark x. 21.

sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me ; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great : for otherwise, in feeding the streams, thou driest the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of goodness directed by right reason ; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it : as, on the other side, there is a natural malignity. For there be that in their nature do not affect¹ the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or diffidence, or the like ; but the deeper sort to envy, and mere² mischief. Such men in other men's calamities are, as it were, in season,³ and are ever on the loading part :⁴ not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still⁵ buzzing upon any thing that is raw ; misanthropi, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough,⁶ and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had.⁷ Such dispositions are the very

¹ *Affect*] Have affection for ; seek, feel interested in.

² *Mere*] Pure ; absolute.

³ *In season*] In vigour.

⁴ *On the loading part*] On the oppressing side. Lat. *Easque (calamitates) semper aggravant.*

⁵ *Still*] Ever.

⁶ *To the bough*] To hang themselves. Lat. *Ad suspendii ramum.* There is an old proverbial saying, 'The father to the bough and the son to the plough.'

⁷ *As Timon had*] Timon of Athens was called Misanthrope from his hatred of human society. His story is the subject of one of Lucian's *Dialogues*, and he is the hero of one of Shakspeare's plays. His address to the Athenians is thus reported in the *Antonius* of Sir Thomas North's Plutarch : 'My lords of Athens, I have a little yard at my house where there groweth a fig-tree, on the which many citizens have hanged themselves ; and because I mean to make some building on the place, I thought good to let you all understand it, that before the fig-tree be cut down, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time go hang yourselves.' See the last speech but one of Timon in Act v. Sc. 1 of Shakspeare's *Timon of Athens*.

errors¹ of human nature, and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politics² of ; like to knee timber,³ that is good for ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shows he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them. If he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm.⁴ If he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot. If he be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash. But, above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an *anathema* from Christ, for the salvation of his brethren,⁵ it shows much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.⁶

XIV. OF NOBILITY.

We will speak of nobility, first as a portion of an Estate ;⁷ then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny ; as that of the Turks : for nobility attempers sove-

¹ *Errors*] Lat. *Humanæ naturæ vomicas et carcinomata*.

² *Politics*] Politicians.

³ *Knee timber*] Naturally crooked timber.

⁴ *Is wounded itself, &c.*] He alludes to the medicinal juices obtained by incision from the bark of the myrrh and other balsamic trees.

⁵ *An anathema, &c.*] Rom. ix. 3, 'For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren.'

⁶ *Conformity with Christ himself*] He alludes to Christ having been 'made a curse for us,' Gal. iii. 13.

⁷ *An Estate*] A State or Commonwealth.

reignty,¹ and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal. But for democracies they need it not ; and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to sedition, than where there are stirps² of nobles ; for men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons ; or if upon the persons, it is for the business' sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons ; for utility is their bond, and not respects.³ The United Provinces of the Low Countries⁴ in their government excel : for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent,⁵ and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power ; and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth⁶ their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice ; and yet maintained in that height, as⁷ the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expense ; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons : It is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay ; or to see a fair timber-tree sound and perfect ; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time. For new nobility

¹ *Attempters sovereignty*] Lat. *Dignitatem regalem diluit*.

² *Stirps*] Plural of *stirp*, a stock or race, from the Lat. *stirps*.

³ *Respects*] Regard for persons.

⁴ *The United Provinces, &c.*] The Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands threw off the yoke of Spain in 1579.

⁵ *Indifferent*] Impartial ; without respect of persons.

⁶ *Presseth*] Depresses.

⁷ *As*] That.

is but the act of power ; but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility, are commonly more virtuous,¹ but less innocent, than their descendants ; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts. But it is reason² the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth³ industry ; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is. Besides, noble persons cannot go much higher ; and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions⁴ of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business ; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

XV. OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

Shepherds of people had need know the calendars⁵ of tempests in State, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality ; as natural tempests are greatest about the Equinoctia.⁶ And as there are certain hollow blasts of wind, and secret swellings of seas, before a tempest, so are there in States :

Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella.⁷

¹ *Are commonly, &c.*] Have commonly higher virtues. Lat. *Virtutum claritudine plerumque posteris eminent.*

² *It is reason*] It is reasonable that. See p. 41, note 2.

³ *Abateth*] Blunts. Compare Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, i. 3, 'Borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry ;' and see p. 35, note 2.

⁴ *Motions*] Stirrings.

⁵ *Calendars*] Prognostics.

⁶ *Equinoctia*] The Equinoxes. *Æquinoctia* is a Latin plural.

⁷ *Ille etiam cæcos, &c.*] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 465. He also frequently

Libels and licentious discourses against the State, when they are frequent and open, and in like sort false news often running up and down, to the disadvantage of the State, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame, saith she was sister to the giants :

Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque sororem
Progeniuit.¹

As if fames were the relics of seditions past ; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever, he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine ; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a State, and the most plausible,² and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced : for that shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, *conflatâ magnâ invidiâ, seu bene seu male gesta premunt.*³

gives warning that tumults are secretly impending, and that treachery and hidden hostility are ripening for an outbreak.

¹ *Illam Terra parens, &c.*] Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 178. Mother Earth, as they relate, provoked by the wrath of the gods, produced her as the last offspring, a sister to Cæus and Enceladus. In the *Advancement*, II., Bacon says, ‘In heathen poesy we see the exposition of fables doth fall out sometimes with great felicity ; as in the fable that the giants being overthrown in their war against the gods, the Earth, their mother, in revenge thereof brought forth Fame : *Illam Terra parens, &c.*—expounded that when princes and monarchies have suppressed actual and open rebels, then the malignity of people, which is the mother of rebellion, doth bring forth libels, and slanders, and taxations of the states, which is of the same kind with rebellion, but more feminine.’

² *Plausible*] Praiseworthy.

³ *Conflatâ magnâ, &c.*] Odium being once excited, his acts, whether good or bad, are regarded as oppressive. The words of Tacitus, however, are ‘*Inviso semel Principe, seu bene seu male facta premunt :*’ The ruler being once hated, his acts, &c. {*Hist.* i. 7.)

Neither doth it follow, that because these fumes are a sign of troubles, that¹ the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles. For the despising of them many times checks them best; and the going about² to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived. Also that kind of obedience which Tacitus speaketh of is to be held suspected: *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent imperantium mandata interpretari, quam exsequi*;³ disputing, excusing,⁴ cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of⁵ disobedience: especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly; and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when Princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side, it is as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France: for first himself entered league for the extirpation of the Protestants; and presently after the same league was turned upon himself.⁶ For when the authority of Princes is made but an accessory to a cause,

¹ *That*] The conjunction is here redundant.

² *Going about*] Seeking; endeavouring. So, in Scripture, John vii. 19, 'Why go ye about to kill me?'

³ *Erant in officio, &c.*] They were attentive to duties, but yet were men who liked better to discuss the commands of their rulers than to execute them. Bacon here again quotes from his memory; the words of Tacitus are: 'Miles alacer; qui tamen jussa ducum interpretari quam exsequi mallet.'

⁴ *Excusing*] Assigning reasons against commands.

⁵ *Assay of*] Experimental attempt at.

⁶ *The same league, &c.*] He alludes to the league formed by the Duke of Guise for the extirpation of the Protestants. The Duke and the other chiefs of the league formed a plan to invest themselves with supreme authority and to hold Henry in thralldom. The King shortly afterwards caused the Duke of Guise and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, to be assassinated. (1588.)

and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of Government is lost. For the motions of the greatest persons in a Government ought to be as the motions of the planets under *primum mobile*,¹ according to the old opinion, which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion. And, therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, *liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent*,² it is a sign the orbs are out of frame. For reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof: *solvam cingula regum*.³

So when any of the four pillars of Government are mainly shaken or weakened (which are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which,

¹ *Primum mobile*] The *primum mobile*, or prime mover, in the old astronomy, was the tenth sphere or heaven; the first heaven was that of the Moon, the second of Mercury, the third of Venus, the fourth of the Sun, the fifth of Mars, the sixth of Jupiter, the seventh of Saturn, the eighth of all the fixed stars, the ninth the crystalline heaven—to which the Ptolemaics attributed a sort of libration or shaking, to account for certain irregularities in the motion of the stars—the tenth, the *primum mobile*—of a pure, clear substance, without stars, revolving from east to west in twenty-four hours, and carrying with it all the lower spheres, forcing them to make their own revolutions from west to east.

² *Liberius quam, &c.*] More freely than as though they had been mindful of their rulers. In Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 4, the words are ‘*Promptius apertiusque quam ut meminisse imperantium crederes*:’ more forwardly and openly than would allow you to think that they remembered their rulers.

³ *Solvam cingula, &c.*] I will loose the girdles of kings. Job xii. 18, ‘He looseth the bond of kings, and girdeth their loins with a girdle.’ Isai. xlv. 1, ‘I will loose the loins of kings.’

nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of seditions; then of the motives of them; and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the materials of seditions: It is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds: much poverty, and much discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles.¹ Lucan² noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war:

Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore foenus;
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.³

This same *multis utile bellum* is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles. And if this poverty and broken estate, in the better sort, be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great. For the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame. And let no Prince measure the danger of them by this: whether they be just or unjust; for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable; who do often spurn at their own good;—nor yet by this: whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact

¹ *So many, &c.*] That all overthrown fortunes are so many motives for seeking troubles.

² *Lucan*] A Roman poet, author of *Pharsalia*, an account of the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey.

³ *Hinc usura, &c.*] Hence voracious usury, and interest coming rapidly upon its time; hence shaken credit, and war advantageous to a great number. *Phars.* i. 181. Instead of *rapidum* Lucan has *avidum*, avariciously eager.

great or small ; for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling : *dolendi modus, timendi non item*.¹ Besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do withal mate² the courage ; but in fears it is not so. Neither let any Prince, or State, be secure³ concerning discontentments, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued ; for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm ; so it is nevertheless true, that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last ; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull*.⁴

The causes and motives of seditions are, innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate ; and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the remedies : There may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak ; as for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease, and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we spake ; which is, want and poverty in the Estate. To which purpose serveth the opening and well balancing of trade ; the cherishing of manufactures ; the banishing of idleness ; the repressing of waste and excess by sumptuary laws ; the

¹ *Dolendi, &c.*] The measure of grieving is not also that of fearing. Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 17.

² *Mate*] Confound.

³ *Secure*] Easy-minded ; heedless. Formerly a very common meaning. Ben Jonson, in his *Forest*, xi. says, ‘Men may securely sin, but safely never.’

⁴ *The cord breaketh, &c.*] There is a more familiar proverb of similar import : ‘It is the last straw that breaks the camel’s back.’

improvement and husbanding of the soil ; the regulating of prices of things vendible ; the moderating of taxes and tributes ; and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen¹ that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars) do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them. Neither is the population to be reckoned only by number : for a smaller number that spend more and earn less, do wear out an Estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more ; therefore the multiplying of nobility, and other degrees of quality, in an over proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a State to necessity : and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy ; for they bring nothing to the stock : and in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that, for as much as the increase of any Estate must be upon the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten, is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another : the commodity as nature yieldeth it, the manufacture, and the vecture or carriage. So that if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that *materiam superabit opus*,² that the work and carriage is worth more than the material, and enricheth a State more ; as is notably seen in the Low-Country men, who have the best mines above ground³ in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and moneys in a State be not gathered into few hands : for, otherwise, a State may have a great stock, and yet starve. And money is like muck, not good except it be

¹ *It is to be foreseen*] Precaution is to be used.

² *Materiam, &c.*] The work will be worth more than the material. Ovid's words are 'Materiam superabat opus.' *Met.* ii. 5.

³ *Mines above ground*] Manufactures.

spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or, at the least, keeping a strait hand upon, the devouring trades of usury, engrossing,¹ great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or at least the danger of them : There is in every State (as we know) two portions of subjects, the noblesse and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great ; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort ; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter ; which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas sent for Briareus with his hundred hands to come in to his aid. An emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery) is a safe way. For he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth² malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.

The part of Epimetheus³ might well become Prometheus,

¹ *Engrossing*] Monopolising. ² *Endangereth*] Runs the risk of.

³ *The part of Epimetheus*] That is, his shutting the lid of Pandora's box. Prometheus having stolen fire from heaven to animate human figures which he had formed of clay, Jupiter in revenge sent him Pandora—so called because the gods had contributed all their gifts to make her more alluring. Prometheus rejected her, but his brother Epimetheus received and married her. She had brought, as a present to her husband, a beautiful box, which Epimetheus opened; whereupon there issued from it a multitude of evils, which overspread the earth ; but Hope remained at the bottom of the box when Epimetheus shut the lid. What Bacon means by saying 'The part of Epimetheus might well become Prometheus' is, that the former, by shutting the lid, showed

in the case of discontentments ; for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes,¹ is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments. And it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction : and when it can handle things in such manner, as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope : which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that which they believe not.

Also, the foresight and prevention that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation ; that hath confidence with the discontented party ; and upon whom they turn their eyes ; and that is thought discontented in his own particular :² which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true manner, or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally,

a kind of prudence not unlike his brother's. Our author, however, appears not to have discerned the sarcastic import of the old story about shutting up Hope, where she was of no earthly use. Prometheus would have let her loose. Milton, *P. L.* iv. 716, calls Epimetheus 'the unwiser son of Japhet.'

¹ *Carrying men from hopes to hopes*] This was familiarly called *bearing men in hand*.

² *In his own particular*] For his own part ; in his own private capacity. The phrase is of very common occurrence in our old authors. The community were called 'the general.'

the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the State, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust, amongst themselves, is not one of the worst remedies. For it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the State be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp speeches which have fallen from Princes, have given fire to seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech : *Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare* ;¹ for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech : *legi a se militem, non emi* ;² for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus, likewise, by that speech : *si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus* ;³ a speech of great despair for the soldiers; and many the like. Surely Princes had need, in tender matters and ticklish times, to beware what they say ; especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions. For as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

¹ *Sylla nescivit, &c.*] Sylla did not know his letters, he could not dictate. This is from Suetonius, *Jul. Cæs.* 77, ‘Syllam nescisse literas, qui Dictaturam deposuerit.’ That Sylla, not knowing his letters, gave up dictating. Cæsar intended word-play with *dictaturam*, which signifies either a dictation lesson to pupils, or the office of Dictator ; and the fact with which Cæsar jested was, that Sylla showed himself ignorant by giving up the Dictatorship, it being more perilous to lay down than to assume such authority, for a Dictator might be called to account for his conduct when he resigned his office.

² *Legi a se, &c.*] That the soldiery were levied by him, not bought. Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 5 ; and Plutarch’s Lives, *Galba*.

³ *Si vixero, &c.*] If I live, the Roman empire shall cease to have need of soldiers. Flavius Vopiscus, *Probus*, 20.

Lastly, let Princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles than were fit. And the State runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith : *atque is habitus animorum fuit ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur*.¹ But let such military persons be assured,² and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular ; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the State ; or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

XVI. OF ATHEISM.

I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend,³ and the Talmud,⁴ and the Alcoran,⁵ than that this universal frame is without a mind. And, therefore, God never wrought miracle to convince⁶ atheism, because his ordinary

¹ *Atque is habitus, &c.*] Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 28. And such was the state of feeling, that a few had the daring to commit the most flagrant atrocity, more wished it done, and all allowed it.

² *Assured*] Made sure of ; certified as trustworthy.

³ *The Legend*] The *Legenda Aurca*, or *Golden Legend*, containing accounts of the saints and their miracles, written by Jacobus de Voragine, a Dominican friar, afterwards Archbishop of Genoa. He died in 1292. It was translated out of French, and printed by Caxton, in 1483. In the first speech of the old play of *Grim the Collier*, St. Dunstan says—

‘But whoso looks into the Golden Legend,
That sacred register of holy saints,
Shall find me by the pope canonised.’

⁴ *The Talmud*] The book containing the traditions and comments of the Jewish Rabbins.

⁵ *Alcoran*] The Koran, or Mohammedan Scriptures.

⁶ *Convince*] Overcome. Compare Shakspeare, *Macbeth*, i. 7,

works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism; but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion: for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity.¹ Nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism, doth most demonstrate religion; that is, the school of Leucippus,² and Democritus,³ and Epicurus.⁴ For it is a thousand times more credible, that four mutable elements and one immutable fifth essence,⁵ duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions or seeds unplaced,⁶ should have

'His two chamberlains I will with wine and wassail so convince;' iv. 3, 'Their malady convinces the great assay of art;' *Cymbeline*, i. 4, 'Convince the honour of my mistress;' Spenser's *F. Q.* III. ii. 21, 'That treasons could bewray, or foes convince.'

¹ *For while the mind of man, &c.*] Compare the explanation in the *Advancement*, 'When the second causes, which are next unto the senses, do offer themselves to the mind of man, if it dwell and stay there, it may induce some oblivion of the highest cause; but when a man passeth on farther, and seeth the dependence of causes, and the works of Providence, then, according to the allegory of the poets, he will easily believe that the highest link of nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair.'

² *Leucippus*] A Grecian philosopher, one of Zeno's pupils. He originated the atomic philosophy, which was afterwards more fully expounded by Democritus and Epicurus.

³ *Democritus*] A disciple of Leucippus. He was called the laughing philosopher, from his habit of laughing at the follies of mankind.

⁴ *Epicurus*] See p. 4, note 4.

⁵ *Fifth essence*] Aristotle supposed that besides the four mutable elements there was an ethereal and immutable quintessence, out of which the stars and the heavens were formed. See Milton's *P. L.* iii. 714-19.

⁶ *That an army, &c.*] He alludes to the notion of the world having been formed by a fortuitous concourse of atoms, as taught by the forenamed philosophers.

produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal. The Scripture saith, *The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God*:¹ it is not said, *The fool hath thought in his heart*: so as² he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that³ he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it. For none deny there is a God but those for whom it maketh⁴ that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this: that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion,⁵ as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others; nay, more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world. Wherein they say he did temporise, though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly he is traduced; for his words are noble and divine: *Non deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi opiniones diis applicare profanum*.⁶ Plato⁷ could have said no more.

¹ *The fool hath said, &c.*] Psal. xiv. 1.

² *As*] That. ³ *That*] What. ⁴ *It maketh*] It is expedient.

⁵ *That their opinion*] We would now say *that opinion of theirs*. Compare Shakspeare, *Ant. & Cleop.* ii. 3, 'That thy spirit which keeps thee;' *Jul. Cæs.* v. 5, 'For that our love of old.' The Prayer Book has 'That His inestimable benefit.'

⁶ *Non deos, &c.*] Diogenes Laertius, x. 123. It is not profane to deny the gods of the vulgar, but it is profane to attribute to the gods the opinions of the vulgar.

⁷ *Plato*] A disciple of Socrates, and the founder of the Academic philosophy. He died 347 B.C.

And, although he had the confidence to deny the administration,¹ he had not the power to deny the nature.² The Indians of the West³ have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God : as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c., but not the word *Deus* ; which shows that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it. So that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare : a Diagoras,⁴ a Bion,⁵ a Lucian⁶ perhaps, and some others ; and yet they seem to be more than they are ; for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are by the adverse part branded with the name of atheists. But the great atheists indeed⁷ are hypocrites ; which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling ; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end.⁸ The causes of atheism are : divisions in religion, if they be many ; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides ; but many divisions introduce atheism. Another is scandal

¹ *To deny the administration*] Epicurus represented the gods as wholly engrossed with their own pleasures, and utterly negligent of the world's affairs.

² *The nature*] The existence of divine natures.

³ *The Indians of the West*] The native tribes of America and the West Indies.

⁴ *Diagoras*] An Athenian philosopher, banished from Athens for contemning the superstitions of the Greeks. Died about 400 B.C.

⁵ *Bion*] A sophist of Scythia, noted for his satirical humour. Died 241 B.C.

⁶ *Lucian*] Lucian of Samosata in Syria, a Greek humourist of the second century. He ridiculed the ancient philosophers, even Socrates and Plato. Certain writings in which he was supposed to ridicule Christ are not believed to be his ; and he is now generally exempted from the charge of being an apostate from Christianity.

⁷ *Indeed*] Lat. *Reverâ* ; that are in reality atheists.

⁸ *Be cauterised, &c.*] Become seared at last.

of priests ; when it is come to that which St. Bernard¹ saith, *non est jam dicere, ut populus sic sacerdos ; quia nec sic populus ut sacerdos.*² A third is, custom of profane scoffing in holy matters ; which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion. And lastly, learned times, specially with peace and prosperity : for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy man's nobility : for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body ; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature : for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man ; who to him is instead of a God, or *melior natura* ;³ which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of⁴ a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which human nature in itself could not obtain. Therefore, as⁵ atheism is in all respects hateful, so⁶ in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations : Never was there such a State for magnanimity as Rome. Of this State hear what Cicero saith : *Quam volumus, licet, Patres Conscripti, nos amemus ; tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus*

¹ *St. Bernard*] Abbot of Clairvaux, an eminent theologian of the twelfth century, who vehemently denounced the sins then prevalent among the clergy. Died 1153.

² *Non est jam, &c.*] *Sermo ad Pastores.* It is not for us now to say, as are the people so is the priest, because as the priest is so are not the people.

³ *Melior natura*] A superior nature.

⁴ *Confidence of*] Belief in.

⁵ *As*] While.

⁶ *So*] It is especially so.

*Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativogue sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes, nationesque superavimus.*¹

XVII. OF SUPERSTITION.

It were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him: for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely; and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch² saith well to that purpose: *Surely*, saith he, *I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born,*³ as the poets speak of Saturn.⁴ And, as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety,⁵ to laws, to reputation; all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue,

¹ *Quam volumus, &c.*] *De Har. Resp.* ix. Let us admire ourselves, Conscript Fathers, as we please; still we have not excelled the Spaniards in number, nor the Gauls in bodily strength, nor the Carthaginians in cunning, nor the Grecians in arts, nor, finally, the Italians and Latins themselves even in this, the domestic and patriotic appreciation of this nation and soil; but we have excelled all races and nations in piety, and religion, and in this special wisdom, that we have recognised all things to be regulated and controlled by the spirit of the immortal gods.

² *Plutarch*] An illustrious Greek biographer and moralist.

³ *Surely*, saith he, &c.] *De Superstit.* x.

⁴ *As the poets*, &c.] The poets feigned that Saturn devoured his children as soon as they were born, Jupiter only, the youngest, having escaped.

⁵ *Natural piety*] The Latin word *pietas* denoted sense of duty towards parents, &c., as well as towards God.

though religion were not ;¹ but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men. Therefore atheism did never perturb States ; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further :² and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil times.³ But superstition hath been the confusion of many States ; and bringeth in a new *primum mobile*,⁴ that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people ; and in all superstition wise men follow fools ; and arguments are fitted to practice in a reversed order.⁵ It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent,⁶ where the doctrine of the Schoolmen⁷ bare great sway, that the Schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs, to save the phenomena,⁸ though they

¹ *Were not*] Lat. *Abesset*, were absent.

² *As looking no farther*] As minding nothing but themselves.

³ *Civil times*] Times when the thoughts and pursuits of men were those of civilians, not of soldiers. The Lat. has *Tempora tranquilla*.

⁴ *Primum mobile*] See p. 56, note 1.

⁵ *Arguments are fitted, &c.*] He means that, by an inversion of rational order, arguments are made conformable to existing practice, instead of practice being regulated by arguments.

⁶ *The Council of Trent*] Trent is a town in the Tyrol. The Tridentine Council lasted from 1545 to 1563.

⁷ *The Schoolmen*] So called because they taught in the schools of divinity established by Charlemagne. They were philosophers and divines of the Middle Ages, who adopted the principles of Aristotle, and spent much time on points of nice and abstract speculation.

⁸ *Eccentrics and epicycles, &c.*] Apollonius, a mathematician of Perga in Pamphylia, B.C. 242, was the first who attempted, by means of cycles and epicycles, to account for the apparent stoppings and retrograde motions of the planets. Compare Milton, *P. L.* viii. 80—

‘ How they will wield
The mighty frame ; how build, unbuild, contrive,
To save appearances ; how gird the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o’er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb.’

knew there were no such things ; and, in like manner, that the Schoolmen had framed a number of subtile and intricate axioms and theorems to save the practice of the Church. The causes of superstition are : pleasing and sensual¹ rites and ceremonies ; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness ; over-great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the Church ; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre ; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits² and novelties ; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations ;³ and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition without a veil is a deformed thing ; for, as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received ; therefore care would be had,⁴ that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad ; which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

Richardson, in *Explanatory Notes on Milton*, says, ‘ To save appearances is to defend the appearances from the attacks and objections which would naturally arise, or to prevent their being made. *Centric*, or concentric, are spheres whose centre is the same with, and *eccentric* those whose centres are different from, that of the earth. *Cycle* is a circle, *epicycle* is a circle whose centre is upon the circumference of another circle. *Contrivances*, expedients of the Ptolemaics, to save the apparent difficulties in their system.’

¹ *Sensual*] Addressed to the senses.

² *Conceits*] In the Lat. version, ἐθελοθρησκείαις, acts of will-worship ; from Col. ii. 23.

³ *Mixture of imaginations*] Lat. *Phantasiarum male cohærentium mixturam*.

⁴ *Would be had*] Ought to be taken. See p. 17, note 2.

XVIII. OF TRAVEL.

Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education ; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country, before he hath some entrance¹ into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor, or grave servant, I allow well ;² so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before ; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances³ they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth. For else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries ; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it ; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation.⁴ Let diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are : the courts of Princes, specially when they give audience to ambassadors ; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes, and so of consistories ecclesiastic ; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant ; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns, and so the havens and harbours ; antiquities and ruins ; libraries, colleges ; disputations and lectures, where any are ; shipping and navies ; houses and gardens of state⁵ and pleasure, near great cities ; armouries, arsenals,

¹ *Hath some entrance*] Lat. *Aliquos fecerit progressus.*

² *I allow well*] I quite approve. So Shakspeare, 2 *Henry IV.* iv. 2, 'I like them all, and do allow them well ;' *Oth.* i. 3, 'A substitute of most allowed sufficiency.'

³ *Acquaintances*] Friendships. Lat. *Amicitiae et familiaritates.*

⁴ *Observation*] Lat. *Quæ de industriâ observantur* : things that are designedly observed.

⁵ *Of state*] Stately.

magazines, exchanges, burses,¹ warehouses ; exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like ; comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort ; treasuries of jewels and robes ; cabinets and rarities : and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go : after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs,² masques, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them : yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do : first, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth : then he must have such a servant, or tutor, as knoweth the country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some card, or book, describing the country where he travel- leth ; which will be a good key to his inquiry. Let him keep also a diary. Let him not stay long in one city or town ; more or less as the place deserveth, but not long : nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant³ of acquaintance. Let him sequester him- self from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth. Let him, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality

¹ *Burses*] Public edifices where merchants meet for consultation.

² *Triumphs*] Pageants or shows by torch-light.

³ *Adamant*] Loadstone ; means of attraction. The word *adamant* often denotes the magnet or loadstone in old authors. Thus, in Cook's *Green's Tu Quoque*, 'As true to thee as steel to adamant ;' Shak- speare, *Troil. & Cress.* iii. 2, 'As true as iron to adamant ;' *Mids. N. Dream*, ii. 2—

'You draw me, you hard-hearted adamant ;
But yet you draw not iron, for my heart
Is true as steel.'

residing in the place whither he removeth ; that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men¹ of ambassadors ; for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many. Let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life² agreeth with the fame. For quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided : they are commonly for mistresses, healths,³ place, and words.⁴ And let a man beware how he keepeth company with cholerick and quarrelsome persons ; for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him ; but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth. And let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture ; and in his discourse let him be rather advised⁵ in his answers than forward to tell stories ; and let it appear, that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts,⁶ but only prick in some flowers of

¹ *Employed men*] Such as we now call *attachés*.

² *The life*] The person himself. The Latin translation has *Os, vultus, et corporis lineamenta et motus*.

³ *Healths*] Toasts. Lat. *computationes*.

⁴ *Place, and words*] Lat. *Præsidium, et verba contumeliosa* ; right of presiding, and abusive words. Timon, in Shakspeare's play, iii. 6, says, ' Make not a city feast of it, to let the meat cool ere we can agree upon the first place.'

⁵ *Advised*] Heedful ; discreet.

⁶ *Change his country manners, &c.*] Shakspeare often ridiculed the affectation common amongst those who had travelled on the Continent. Thus, in *As You Like It*, iv. 1, ' Farewell, monsieur Traveller. Look

that¹ he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

XIX. OF EMPIRE.

It is a miserable state of mind, to have few things to desire and many things to fear ; and yet that commonly is the case of Kings, who being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing ; and have many representations² of perils and shadows, which makes their minds the less clear. And this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of, *that the King's heart is inscrutable*.³ For multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire, that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes, likewise, that Princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys ;⁴ sometimes upon a building ; sometimes upon erecting of an

you lisp and wear strange suits ; disable all the benefits of your own country,' &c.

¹ *That*] That which.

² *Representations*] Lat. *phantasmata*.

³ *The King's heart, &c.*] Prov. xxv. 3, 'The heart of kings is unsearchable.' Bacon was fond of referring to this proverb. In Massinger's *Emperor of the East*, ii. i, Philanax, finding that he and others had mistaken the Emperor's nature, says—

' We had forgot 'tis found in holy writ
That kings' hearts are inscrutable.'

In the *Advancement*, II., Bacon says, 'Princes being at the top of human desires, they have for the most part no particular ends whereto they aspire, by distance from which a man might take measure and scale of the rest of their actions and desires ; which is one of the causes that maketh their hearts more inscrutable.'

⁴ *Toys*] Trifles.

order ;¹ sometimes upon the advancing of a person ; sometimes upon obtaining excellence in some art, or feat of the hand ; as Nero for playing on the harp ;² Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow ;³ Commodus for playing at fence ;⁴ Caracalla for driving chariots ;⁵ and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle, that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting⁶ in small things, than by standing at a stay in great. We see also that Kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy : as did Alexander the Great,⁷ Diocletian,⁸ and in our memory Charles the Fifth,⁹ and

¹ Upon erecting of an order] Lat. *Ad ordinem aliquem aut collegium instituendum*.

² Nero for playing, &c.] Dion Cassius, lxiii. 1.

³ Domitian for certainty, &c.] Suetonius, *Domitian*, 19.

⁴ Commodus for playing, &c.] Dion Cassius, lxxii. 10, 22.

⁵ Caracalla for driving, &c.] Dion Cassius, lxxvii. 10.

⁶ Profiting] Making progress. Lat. *progrediendo*. This was anciently a common meaning of the word. Thus Shakspeare, in *As You Like It*, i. 1, 'My brother Jaques he keeps at school, and report speaks goldenly of his profit ;' and in the *Tempest*, i. 2, 'Here have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit (*i.e.* to profit more) than other princes can.'

⁷ As did Alexander the Great] 'After that Alexander had left his trust and confidence in the gods, his mind was so troubled and afraid, that no strange thing happened unto him, how little soever it was, but he took it straight for a sign and prediction from the gods ; so that his tent was always full of priests and soothsayers, that did nothing but sacrifice and purify, and tend upon divinements.'—North's *Plutarch*.

⁸ Diocletian] This Roman emperor, after a prosperous reign of twenty-one years, abdicated the crown, A. D. 304, and retired to a private station at his native town, Salona, in Dalmatia.

⁹ Charles the Fifth] Emperor of Germany. After a reign of thirty-seven years he resigned the imperial crown, in 1556, and retired to the

others ; for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true temper¹ of empire : it is a thing rare and hard to keep ; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries ; but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius² to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction : Vespasian asked him, what was Nero's overthrow ? He answered,³ Nero could touch and tune the harp well, but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low. And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in Princes' affairs, is rather fine deliveries,⁴ and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof. But this is but to try masteries with fortune. And let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared ; for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in Princes' business are many and great ; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with Princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictions : *Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter*

monastery of Yuste in Estremadura, and there passed the last two years of his life.

¹ *Temper*] Commixture of qualities.

² *Apollonius*] A Pythagorean philosopher, of Tyana in Cappadocia, skilled in magic.

³ *He answered, &c.*] Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan.* v. 28.

⁴ *Is rather fine deliveries*] Lat. *Ut conquirantur magis et aptentur remedia.*

se contrariæ.¹ For it is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours,² their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First, for their neighbours: there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable), save one, which ever holdeth, which is, that Princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade,³ by approaches,⁴ or the like), as⁵ they become more able to annoy them than they were. And this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of Kings, King Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First, King of France, and Charles the Fifth, emperor,⁶ there was such a watch kept that none of the three could win a palm⁷ of ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war: and would not in any wise take up⁸ peace at interest. And the

¹ *Sunt plerumque, &c.*] The desires of kings are commonly both vehement and incongruous. This is not from Tacitus, but from Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 113. The passage is referred to the right author in the *Advancement*, II.

² *Their neighbours*] Neighbouring States.

³ *By embracing of trade*] Lat. *Commercium ad se trahendo*.

⁴ *By approaches*] Lat. *Propius accedendo*.

⁵ *As*] That.

⁶ *Charles the Fifth, emperor*] The Latin version has *Carolo Quinto Hispano*. As King of Spain he was Charles I. On the death of Maximilian I., in 1519, Francis and Charles became competitors for the empire.

⁷ *A palm*] A hand's breadth; three inches.

⁸ *Take up*] Buy on credit. So in Shakspeare, 2 *Hen. IV.* i. 2,

like was done by that league¹ (which Guicciardini² saith was the security of Italy), made between Ferdinando, King of Naples, Lorenzious Medicis,³ and Ludovicus Sforza,⁴ potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the Schoolmen⁵ to be received, that a war cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent injury or provocation. For there is no question, but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives : there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed⁶ for the poisoning of her husband ; Roxolana, Solyman's wife,⁷ was the destruction of that renowned prince, Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house

'If a man is thorough with them in honest taking up, then they must stand upon security;' *Much Ado*, iii. 3, 'We are like to prove a goodly commodity, being taken up of these men's bills;' 2 *Hen. VI.* iv. 7, 'When shall we go to Cheapside, and take up commodities upon our bills?' In the last two of these passages word-play is intended between legal bills or bonds and the weapons called brown bills.

¹ *That league*] The league of 1485, designed chiefly against the growing power of the Venetians.

² *Guicciardini*] A Florentine and an eminent statesman, who died in 1540. He wrote a History of Italy during his own Time. Bacon here refers to the beginning of the History.

³ *Lorenzious Medicis*] Lorenzo de' Medici, styled the 'Magnificent' and the 'Father of Letters,' was chief of the republic of Florence, and father of John de' Medici (Pope Leo X.); both were illustrious promoters of literature and the fine arts in Italy in the sixteenth century.

⁴ *Ludovicus Sforza*] Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, died in captivity in 1508. He was a man of artful and crooked policy, but a liberal patron of learning and the arts.

⁵ *The Schoolmen*] See p. 69, note 7.

⁶ *Infamed*] Regarded as infamous. Livia was said to have murdered Augustus, to hasten the accession of her son Tiberius.

⁷ *Solyman's wife*] Soliman the 'Magnificent' was the most famous of the Turkish sultans. His wife Roxolana instigated him to put to death Mustapha and all the children of his other wives.

and succession ; Edward the Second of England his queen¹ had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses.²

For their children : the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many : and generally the entering of the fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood ; for that Selymus the Second³ was thought to be supposititious. The destruction of Crispus,⁴ a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house ; for both Constantinus and Constans, his sons, died violent deaths ; and Constantius, his other son, did little better, who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius,⁵ son to Philip the Second of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance. And many like examples there are ; but few or none where the fathers had good by

¹ *Edward the Second of England his queen*] The Saxon genitive termination *is* was for some time erroneously supposed to be an abbreviation of *his*. In the Prayer Book we have 'for Jesus Christ His sake ; in Roger Ascham's *Toxophilus* (30), 'Their excellency needeth no man his praise.' Shakspeare has very few examples, and in these the noun preceding the pronoun generally ends in *s* ; as in *Henry V.* i. 2, 'King Lewis his satisfaction.' So in Bacon's *Wisd. of the Anc.*, 'Prometheus his scholars.'

² *Advoutresses*] Adulteresses.

³ *Selymus the Second*] Selim II. succeeded his father, Soliman, in 1566.

⁴ *Crispus*] He was falsely accused of treason by his stepmother Fausta, and Constantine ordered him to be beheaded, A.D. 326.

⁵ *Demetrius*] He was falsely accused by his brother Perseus of an attempt to dethrone their father.

such distrust, except it were where the sons were up in open arms against them ; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet : and the three sons of Henry the Second, King of England.

For their prelates : when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them ; as it was in the times of Anselmus¹ and Thomas Becket,² archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crosiers did almost try it with the King's sword ; and yet they had to deal with stout³ and haughty Kings, William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that state⁴ but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority ;⁵ or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation⁶ of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles : to keep them at a distance it is not amiss ; but to depress them may make a king more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform anything that he desires. I have noted it in my History of King Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his nobility ; whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles ; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business. So that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second nobles : there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt : besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too

¹ *Anselmus*] Anselm was archbishop during the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I.

² *Thomas Becket*] Archbishop in the reign of Henry II.

³ *Stout*] High-minded.

⁴ *That state*] That order of men ; prelacy.

⁵ *Hath a dependence of, &c.*] Is under the authority of Rome.

⁶ *Collation*] Conferring.

potent : and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants : they are *vena porta* ;¹ and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little.² Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the King's revenue ; for that which he wins in the hundred³ he leese⁴ in the shire ; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons : there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads ; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war : it is a dangerous State where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives,⁵ whereof we see examples in the Janizaries⁶ and Prætorian bands of Rome ;⁷ but trainings of men, and arming them in several places and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence and no danger.

¹ *Vena Porta*] 'The great vessel that conveys the blood to the liver, after it has been enriched by the absorption of nutriment from the intestines.'—DEVEY. Bacon, in his *History of Henry VII.*, says of that monarch, 'Being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the *gate vein* which disperseth that blood.'

² *Nourish little*] Have scanty growth ; get little nourishment.

³ *The hundred*] This division of a shire is supposed to have consisted originally of a hundred families.

⁴ *Leese*] Lose. So Spenser, in the *Shepherd's Calendar* (*Sept*)—
'Yet better leave off with a little loss,
Than by much wrestling to leese the gross.'

⁵ *Donatives*] Largesses.

⁶ *The Janizaries*] The body-guards of the Ottoman sovereigns.

⁷ *Prætorian bands of Rome*] The *Cohortes Prætorie*, or body-guard of the Roman emperors. See p. 19, note 4.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times ;¹ and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning Kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances : *memento quod es homo* ; and *memento quod es Deus*, or *vice Dei* :² the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

XX. OF COUNSEL.

The greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel. For in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair ; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole : by how much the more they³ are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest Princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without ; but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, *The Counsellor*.⁴ Solomon hath pronounced that *in counsel is stability*.⁵ Things will have their first or second agitation : if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune ; and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing,⁶ like the reeling of a drunken man.

¹ *Which cause, &c.*] An allusion to the influence ascribed to the planets in the old astrology.

² *Memento, &c.*] Remember thou art a man ; and remember thou art as God, or God's vicegerent.

³ *They*] That is, the counsellors.

⁴ *The Counsellor*] Isai. ix. 6.

⁵ *In counsel, &c.*] Prov. xx. 18, 'Every purpose is established by counsel.'

⁶ *Doing and undoing*] Lat. *Modo texendæ modo retexendæ*, sometimes to be woven, sometimes to be undone when woven : an allusion to Penelope's web.

Solomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it. For the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel ; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned : that it was young counsel for the persons ; and violent counsel for the matter.¹

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with Kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by Kings : the one in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel ; whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel : the other in that which followeth, which was thus : they say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child ; but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up ; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed out of his head. Which monstrous² fable containeth a secret of empire ; how Kings are to make use of their Council of State : that first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation ; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their Council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their Council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended

¹ *For the beloved kingdom, &c.*] The kingdom of Rehoboam the son of Solomon was 'rent and broken' when the majority of the tribes made Jeroboam king of Israel, two tribes only, viz. those of Judah and Benjamin, remaining faithful to Rehoboam, who was now called king of Judah. In 1 Kings xii. 13, it is said that Rehoboam 'answered the people roughly, and forsook the old men's counsel that they gave him ; and spake to them after the counsel of the young men, saying, My father made your yoke heavy, and I will add to your yoke ; my father also chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.'

² *Monstrous*] 'Which in its literal sense appears monstrously absurd. See his *Wisdom of the Ancients*, 30.

on them ; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed)¹ proceeded from themselves, and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel are three. First, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret ; secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves :² thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled. For which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy,³ and the practice of France in some Kings' times, hath introduced Cabinet Councils ;⁴ a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy: Princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do. But let Princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves. And, as for Cabinet Councils, it may be their motto, *plenus rimarum sum* :⁵ one futile person that maketh

¹ *Pallas armed*] Minerva being the goddess of wisdom.

² *Were less of themselves*] Lat. *Minus ex se penderent*: depended less on themselves.

³ *Of Italy*] Lat. *Quorundam ex Italīs*.

⁴ *Cabinet councils*] Lat. *Consilia interiora, quæ vulgo vocantur Cabinetti*. Singer says, 'By cabinet councils Bacon means private meetings of selected advisers in the privy chamber of the king.'

⁵ *Plenus rimarum sum*] I am full of holes. This is from Terence's *Eunuchus*, I. ii. 25, and is part of Parmeno's answer to the question, Can this fellow keep a secret ?

it his glory to tell will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the King: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction. But then it must be a prudent King, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill;¹ and those inward² counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the King's ends; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.³

For weakening of authority: the fable showeth the remedy. Nay, the majesty of Kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of Council; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependences⁴ by his Council, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over-strict combination in divers; which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves: certainly, *non inveniet fidem super terram*,⁵

¹ *Able to grind with a hand-mill*] Lat. *Proprio Marte validus*: able in his own strength or endeavours.

² *Inward*] Intimate. See p. 44, note 2.

³ *Morton and Fox*] John Morton was, in 1486, made Archbishop of Canterbury; in 1487, Lord Chancellor; and, in 1493, a cardinal. He died in 1500. Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester and Secretary of State, finding, shortly after the accession of Henry VIII., that Wolsey engrossed that monarch's confidence, retired in disgust to his diocese, and spent the rest of his life in works of munificence and piety. He died in 1528. Morton was Bishop of Ely and Fox Bishop of Exeter when they were first chosen privy councillors by Henry VII.

⁴ *Bereaved of his dependences*] Lat. *Auctoritate sua imminutum*: impaired in his authority.

⁵ *Non inveniet, &c.*] He will not find faith on the earth. An allusion to Luke xviii. 8. See p. 6, note 2.

is meant of the nature¹ of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct ; not crafty and involved : let Princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another ; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the King's ear. But the best remedy is, if Princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them : *Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.*² And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative³ into their Sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is rather to be skilful in his master's business than in his nature ; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to Princes if they take the opinions of their Council both separately and together ; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours ; and in consort men are more obnoxious⁴ to others' humours ; therefore it is good to take both : and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom ; of the greater rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for Princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons ; for all matters are as dead images ; and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning persons *secundum genera*,⁵ as in an idea or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be ; for the greatest

¹ *Nature*] General characteristic.

² *Principis est, &c.*] Martial, viii. 15. It is the greatest virtue in a prince to know those about him.

³ *Speculative*] Prying ; inquisitive.

⁴ *Obnoxious*] Submissive.

⁵ *Secundum genera*] According to kinds.

errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, *optimi consilarii mortui*.¹ books will speak plain when counsellors blanch.² Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The Councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings; where matters are rather talked on than debated: and they run too swift to the order or act of Council. It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to³ till the next day; *in nocte consilium*.⁴ So was it done in the Commission of Union between England and Scotland;⁵ which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions: for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance; and it frees the meetings for matters of Estate, that they may *hoc agere*.⁶ In choice of committees for ripening

¹ *Optimi, &c.*] The dead are the best counsellors. This was a saying of Alphonso of Arragon, who used to call himself a necromance because he was so much in the habit of consulting the dead, that is, books.

² *Blanch*] Shrink. *Blench* is the proper form. Thus, in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, ii. 2, 'If he but blench, I know my course;' *Troil. and Cress.* i. 1, 'Patience herself doth lesser blench at sufferance than I do;' and ii. 1, 'There can be no evasion to blench from this, and to stand firm by honour.' The Latin translator, misled by the word *blanch*, writes *forte in adulationem lapsuri sint*.

³ *Spoken to*] Lat. *Tractaretur*: treated; discussed.

⁴ *In nocte consilium*] Hence the proverb, 'Night is the mother of thought.'

⁵ *In the Commission, &c.*] Lat. *In Tractatu Unionis inter Delegatos Angliæ et Scotiæ*: in the Treaty of Union between the Commissioners of England and Scotland. This was on the accession of James the Sixth of Scotland to the throne of England in 1603.

⁶ *Hoc agere*] *Hoc agere* and *aliud agere* were phrases familiarly used by the Romans to denote, respectively, attending to matters in hand and attending to things irrelevant.

business for the Council, it is better to choose indifferent persons¹ than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing Commissions;² as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one Council of Estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no more than standing Commissions; save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform Councils out of their particular professions (as lawyers, seamen, mint-men, and the like), be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the Council. And let them not come in multitudes,³ or in a tribunitious manner;⁴ for that is to clamour⁵ Councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance: for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A King, when he presides in Council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth: for else counsellors will but take the wind of him,⁶ and instead of giving free counsel, sing him a song of *placebo*.⁷

¹ *Indifferent persons*] Persons having no bias towards either side.

² *Standing Commissions*] Lat. *Delegationes, non tantum temporaneas aut e re natâ, sed etiam continuatas et perpetuas.*

³ *In multitudes*] He means multitudes of the same profession.

⁴ *In a tribunitious manner*] In a contentious or violent manner. The Roman *Tribuni Plebis* were elected by the common people for the defence of their rights.

⁵ *To clamour*] To harass with clamour.

⁶ *Will but take, &c.*] Will just shape their course according to his bent. Lat. *Se ad nutum ejus applicabunt.*

⁷ *Placebo*] I will be obsequious. The song of *Placebo* is the vesper hymn for the dead—*Placebo Domino in regione vivorum*, 'I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living,' Psalm cxvi. 9. Chaucer, in

XXI. OF DELAYS.

Fortune is like the market, where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer,¹ which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price. For Occasion (as it is in the common verse) turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken ;² or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly which is hard

the *Parson's Tale* (*De Irâ*), says, 'Flatterers be the devil's chaplains, that sing aye *placebo*.'

¹ *Sibylla's offer*] The Sibyls were certain women who professed to be endowed with a prophetic spirit. The most celebrated of them was the Cumæan Sibyl, so called from residing at Cumæ in Italy. She was said to live 1,000 years, by a grant of longevity from Apollo. One of the Sibyls came to Tarquin the Proud with nine volumes, for which she demanded a large sum of money. The king declined the offer, and she having gone away and burned three of the books, returned and offered him six for the same amount ; but he still refused ; whereupon she burnt three more, and then asked the same for the remaining three. Tarquin was now so astonished at the woman's behaviour that he bought the books. They were preserved with great care, and consulted with great solemnity, as by means of them the priests were thought able to foretell the fate of the Roman empire. The number of the Sibyls is uncertain. Shakspeare, in *1 Hen. VI.* i. 2, speaks of 'the nine Sibyls of old Rome,' but probably the nine Sibylline books are meant.

² *For Occasion, &c.*] It was fabled of Time that he had hair on the front part of his head, but that the back part was bald, signifying that we may lay hold of time as it approaches, but cannot catch it when fleeing from us. The verse to which Bacon refers is '*Fronte capillata est, post hæc Occasio calva*;' the author of which seems to be unknown. Hence the proverbial saying 'Take time by the forelock.' In Spenser's *F. Q.* II. iv. 4, 10, *Occasion* is the name of a hag, the mother of *Furor* ; and of her the poet says—

to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light : and more dangers have deceived men than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches ; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time ; or to teach dangers to come on by over early buckling towards them, is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed ; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands : first to watch, and then to speed. For the helmet of Pluto,¹ which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the counsel, and celerity in the execution. For when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity ; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as² it outruns the eye.

XXII. OF CUNNING.

We take cunning for a sinister or crooked wisdom ; and certainly there is a great difference between a cunning man

‘ Her locks, that loathly were and hoary gray,
Grew all afore, and loosely hung unrolled ;
But all behind was bald and worn away,
That none thereof could ever taken hold.’

¹ *The helmet of Pluto*] During the war of the gods and the Titans, the Cyclops made a helmet which rendered the wearer invisible, and they gave it to Pluto.

² *As*] That.

and a wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards,¹ and yet cannot play well ; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters ; for many are perfect in men's humours,² that are not greatly capable of the real part of business ; which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice³ than for counsel ; and they are good but in their own alley :⁴ turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim ; so as⁵ the old rule, to know a fool from a wise man, *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis*,⁶ doth scarce hold for them. And, because these cunning men are like haberdashers⁷ of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

¹ *Pack the cards*] Packing the cards was using such artifice in shuffling them as to secure a good hand. The cheats who practised it were often inferior players. To pack cards with another figuratively signified to concert fraudulently ; thus in Shakspeare—

‘Packed cards with Cæsar, and false-played my glory
Unto an enemy's triumph.’—*Ant. and Cleop.* iv. 14.

² *Perfect, &c.*] Lat. *In personarum aditibus et temporibus versuti.* *Perfect* often denoted assured or well informed. Thus in Shakspeare, *Cymb.* iii. 2, ‘I am perfect that the Pannonians and Dalmatians, for their liberties, are now in arms ;’ *Wint. Tale*, iii. 3, ‘Thou art perfect, then, our ship hath touched upon the deserts of Bohemia ;’ and *Mach.* iv. 2, ‘In your state of honour I am perfect.’

³ *Practice*] Lat. *pragmaticis.*

⁴ *Alley*] Walk, or path.

⁵ *So as*] So that.

⁶ *Mitte ambos, &c.*] In one of Bacon's *Apophthegms*, this is put as follows : ‘One of the philosophers was asked, in what a wise man differed from a fool? He answered, *Send them both naked to those that know them not, and you shall perceive.*’ The philosopher was Aristippus. (*Diog. Laert.* ii. 73).

⁷ *Haberdashers*] This name was anciently given to sellers of any kind of small wares.

It is a point of cunning to wait upon¹ him with whom you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances. Yet this would be done² with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have anything to obtain of present despatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of Estate,³ that she might the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.⁴

If a man would cross a business that he doubts⁵ some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite, in him with whom you confer, to know more.

¹ *Wait upon*] Watch. The expression, in this sense, occurs again in the 34th and 58th Essays.

² *Would be done*] Requires to be done. See p. 17, note 2.

³ *Discourse of Estate*] Lat. *De rebus Status gravioribus sermones*.

⁴ *Of that is moved*] Of that which is moved. The suppression of a relative subject is not now approved. It was of frequent occurrence in our older literature.

⁵ *Doubts*] Fears. In Spenser and Shakspeare we have many instances of *doubt* meaning *fear*. Thus in the *F. Q.* III. v. 12, 'For doubt of danger which mote him betide;' in the *Merry Wives*, i. 4, 'I doubt he be not well, that he comes not home;' and in *King John*, v. 6, 'I doubt he will be dead or e'er I come.'

And because it works better when anything seemeth to be gotten from you by question than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change, as Nehemiah did: *And I had not before that time been sad before the king.*¹

In things that are tender² and displeasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.³

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, *The world says*, or *There is a speech abroad*.

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a by-matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have speech,⁴ he would pass over that that he intended most, and go forth, and come back again, and speak of it as a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised, at such times as it is like⁵ the party that they work upon will suddenly

¹ *And I had not, &c.*] Nehem. ii. 1, 'Now I had not been before-time sad in his presence. Wherefore the king said unto me, Why is thy countenance sad, seeing thou art not sick?'

² *Tender*] Delicate. The Lat. has *ambiguus*.

³ *As Narcissus did, &c.*] Narcissus was a freedman of Claudius. The marriage referred to was rather an intrigue between Messalina, the emperor's wife, and Caius Silius, a consul, for which Silius was put to death. Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 30.

⁴ *To have speech*] To be admitted to conference.

⁵ *Like*] Likely that.

come upon them; and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; to the end they may be apposed¹ of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning, to let fall those words in a man's own name which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place in Queen Elizabeth's time,² and yet kept good quarter³ between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, that to be a secretary in the declination of a monarchy was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it:⁴ the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declination of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the queen; who, hearing of a declination of a monarchy, took it so ill, as⁵ she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning which we in England call *The turning of the cat in the pan*; ⁶ which is, when that which a man says

¹ *Be apposed*] Have questions put to them.

² *Two that were competitors, &c.*] Aldis Wright says Mr. Spedding suggested to him that these were probably Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Thomas Bodley.

³ *Quarter*] Order. See p. 40, note 1.

⁴ *Affect it*] Desire it.

⁵ *As*] That.

⁶ *The turning of the cat, &c.*] Singer says, 'It was originally, no doubt, *Cate in the pan*, but thus popularly corrupted. The allusion is probably to the dexterous turning, or *shifting the side*, of a *pancake*, by a sleight of hand familiar to cooks.' I have always interpreted the proverbial saying in the same manner. *Cate*, meaning a delicacy or dainty, and *Kate*, a woman's name, were anciently pronounced as *cat*. In Shakspeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, ii. 1, Petruchio says, 'My super-dainty Kate, for dainties are all cates;' and, farther on in the same

to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him ; and, to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance¹ and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives ; as to say, *This I do not* ; as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, *Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*²

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as³ there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale ; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.

It is a good point of cunning for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions ; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say ; and how far about they will fetch,⁴ and how many other matters they will beat over to

scene, he uses her name in a quibbling allusion to *wild cat*, which Gremio, in i. 2, had plainly called her :

‘For I am he am born to tame you, Kate,
And bring you from a *wild Kate* to a *Kate*
Conformable, as other *household Kates*.’

The Latin translator, unable to account for the saying, has *Quod Anglico proverbio Felem in ahenò vertere satis absurdè dicitur*. Coles’s *English-Latin Dictionary* gives *To turn cat in pan* = *Stylum invertere*.

¹ *To glance*] To shoot obliquely.

² *Se non diversas, &c.*] Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 57. That he himself looked not to diverse hopes, but simply to the safety of the emperor. Tigellinus was a profligate minister of Nero, and Burrhus a chief of the Prætorian guards. Both of them, by order of Nero, were put to death.

³ *As*] That.

⁴ *How far about, &c.*] Lat. *Quanto circuitu uti sustineant*. *To fetch* is to *come round*. Shakspeare’s *King John*, iv. 2, has—

come near it ; it is a thing of a great patience, but yet of much use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him that having changed his name, and walking in Paul's,¹ another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them ; for that nothing doth more hurt in a State than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts and falls² of business, that cannot sink into the main of it : like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room. Therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses³ in the conclusion, but are no ways able to examine or debate matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) putting tricks upon them, than upon soundness of their own proceedings : but Solomon saith, *Prudens advertit ad gressus suos : stultus divertit ad dolos.*⁴

‘ And, like a shifted wind unto a sail,
It makes the course of thoughts to fetch about.’

Compare Scripture, 2 Sam. v. 23, ‘Fetch a compass behind them, and come upon them ;’ Acts xxviii. 13, ‘From thence we fetched a compass, and came to Rhegium.’ See also 2 Kings iii. 9.

¹ *Walking in Paul's*] Old St. Paul's, which was open all day, was a place of common resort for business or recreation. In Shakspeare's 2 *Henry IV.* i. 2, Falstaff says of Bardolph, ‘I bought him in Paul's.’

² *The resorts and falls*] Lat. *Periodos et pausas.*

³ *Pretty looses, &c.*] Lat. *In conclusionibus deliberationum commodos quosdam exitus.*

⁴ *Prudens advertit, &c.*] Prov. xiv. 8, ‘The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way ; but the folly of fools is deceit.’ See also verse 15.

XXIII. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

An ant is a wise creature for itself; but it is a shrewd¹ thing in an orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the Public.² Divide with reason between self-love and society;³ and be so true⁴ to thyself as thou be not false to others, specially to thy King and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right Earth.⁵ For that only⁶ stands fast upon his own centre:⁷ whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in a sovereign Prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril⁸ of the public fortune. But it is a desperate evil in a servant to a Prince, or a citizen in a Republic. For whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends: which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his master or State. Therefore let Princes or States choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their

¹ *Shrewd*] Mischievous.

² *Waste the Public*] Lat. *Reipublicæ noceant*.

³ *Society*] Lat. *Amorem Reipublicæ*.

⁴ *So true*] In such a way true.

⁵ *It is right Earth*] It is thorough Earth. Lat. *Rectè terrestrem naturam sapit*.

⁶ *For that only*] For the Earth alone.

⁷ *His own centre*] Its own centre. See p. 39, note 5. The Earth was the central orb in the Ptolemaic astronomy. Bacon, in the *Advancement*, II., refers to the distinction between '*Sapere* and *Sibi sapere* : the one moving as it were to the circumference, the other to the centre.' There is an old proverb on this subject: '*Nequicquam sapit qui non sibi sapit*.'

⁸ *Is at the peril*] Involves the good or evil.

service should be made but the accessory. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is lost: it were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's. And yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias¹ upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs. And, for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model² of their own fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as³ they will set a house on fire, and it were⁴ but to roast their eggs; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing: it is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall. It is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger who digged and made room for him. It is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour.⁵ But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey)

¹ *A bias*] A weight on one side of a bowl causing it to turn out of the direct course.

² *The model*] The measure: Lat. *modulo*.

³ *As*] That.

⁴ *And it were*] Here *and* is a corrupt form of the Saxon *an*, meaning *if*. In old writings we often meet with the redundancy *an if*, or *and if*.

⁵ *That shed tears, &c.*] It was a vulgar belief that the crocodile uttered tones like those of a crying child, in order to attract pitying attention. Hence the proverbial expression 'crocodile's tears.'

are *sui amantes sine rivali*,¹ are many times unfortunate ; and whereas they have all their time sacrificed² to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

XXIV. OF INNOVATIONS.

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of time ; yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed,³ so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained⁴ by imitation. For ill to man's nature, as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion strongest in continuance ;⁵ but good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine⁶ is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils ; for time is the greatest innovator : and if time of course⁷ alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end ? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit ;⁸ and those things which have long gone together are, as it were, confederate within

¹ *Sui amantes, &c.*] Cicero, *Ad Quint. Frat.* iii. 8. Lovers of themselves without a rival.

² *Sacrificed*] Done sacrifice.

³ *Are commonly more worthy, &c.*] Compare the 14th Essay, 'Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants.'

⁴ *Attained*] Equalled.

⁵ *Strongest in continuance*] Lat. *Qui processu invalescit*.

⁶ *Medicine*] Remedy.

⁷ *Of course*] Lat. *Decursu solo* : by its mere course.

⁸ *Fit*] Lat. *Aptum temporibus*.

themselves;¹ whereas new things piece not² so well, but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity. Besides, they are like strangers, more admired, and less favoured.³ All this is true, if time stood still; which, contrariwise, moveth so round,⁴ that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times are but a scorn to the new. It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly and by degrees scarce to be perceived: for otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends some and pairs⁵ other: and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in States, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation. And lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect:⁶ and, as the Scripture saith, *That we make a stand upon the ancient way and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.*⁷

¹ *Confederate within themselves*] In agreement with each other.

² *Piece not*] Do not conveniently eke out.

³ *Like strangers, &c.*] Like foreigners, more wondered at, and less liked.

⁴ *Moveth so round*] So revolves; makes such revolutions.

⁵ *Pairs*] Impairs. Fr. *empirer*. In Spenser's *F. Q.* I. vii. 41, we have, 'No faith so fast (quoth she) but flesh does pair.'

⁶ *A suspect*] A suspected thing.

⁷ *That we make a stand, &c.*] Jerem. vi. 16, 'Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein.'

XXV. OF DESPATCH.

Affected despatch¹ is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be. It is like that which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty digestion; which is sure to fill the body full of crudities and secret seeds of diseases. Therefore measure not despatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business. And as in races it is not the large stride, or high lift, that makes the speed; so in business the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth despatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time; or to contrive some false periods of business, because² they may seem men of despatch. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off: and business so handled at several sittings, or meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man³ that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, *Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.*

On the other side, true despatch is a rich thing. For time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small despatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small despatch:⁴ *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna*, Let my death come from Spain, for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

¹ *Affected despatch*] Despatch aimed at for its own sake.

² *Because*] In order that. The word with this meaning is still provincial English.

³ *A wise man*] This, as we learn from one of the Apophthegms of Bacon, was Sir Amias Paulett. He was Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to the court of France. Bacon, in his sixteenth year, went to reside for some time under his care at the French court.

⁴ *The Spartans, &c.*] The dilatory habit of the Spartans is referred to in Thucydides, i. 70, 84.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches : for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time ; but there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question ; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for despatch as a robe or mantle with a long train is for race. Prefaces, and passages,¹ and excusations,² and other speeches of reference to the person,³ are great wastes of time ; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery.⁴ Yet beware of being too material⁵ when there is any impediment or obstruction in men's wills ; for preoccupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order, and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of despatch ; so as the distribution be not too subtil : for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business ; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time ; and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business : the preparation, the debate or

¹ *Passages*] References to things that have passed or happened in one's experience. The Latin version, however, has *transitiones bellæ* : fine digressions.

² *Excusations*] Apologies.

³ *The person*] That is, the speaker. Lat. *Personam loquentis*.

⁴ *Bravery*] Ostentation.

⁵ *Of being too material*] Of occupying discourse too exclusively with the main subject. Lat. *Ne in rem ipsam ab initio descendas*.

examination, and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for despatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate despatch : for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite ; as ashes are more generative¹ than dust.

XXVI. OF SEEMING WISE.

It hath been an opinion, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man. For as the apostle saith of godliness, *Having a show of godliness, but denying the power thereof*,² so certainly there are,³ in points of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly: *magno conatu nugas*.⁴ It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives⁵ to make superficies to seem body that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved as they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well⁶ speak. Some help themselves with countenance

¹ *Generative*] Conducive to fertility. He alludes to the use of wood ashes as manure.

² *Having a show, &c.*] 2 Tim. iii. 5.

³ *There are*] There are persons.

⁴ *Magno, &c.*] Terence, *Heaut.* III. v. 8, 'Magno jam conatu magnas nugas : ' mighty trifles with great effort.

⁵ *Prospectives*] An allusion to perspective or stereoscopic glasses.

⁶ *Well*] Lat. *tute* · safe'y

and gesture, and are wise by signs ; as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin : *Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.*¹ Some think to bear it² by speaking a great word, and being peremptory ; and go on, and take by admittance³ that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it, as impertinent or curious : and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference,⁴ and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty blanch the matter ;⁵ of whom A. Gellius saith, *Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutis rerum frangit pondera.*⁶ Of which kind also Plato, in his Protagoras,⁷ bringeth in Prodicus in scorn,⁸ and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally such men in all deliberations find ease to be⁹ of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties : for when propo-

¹ *Respondes, &c.*] Cicero, *In Pisonem*, 6. You answer, with one eyebrow raised towards your forehead, and the other bent down towards your chin, that cruelty displeases you.

² *To bear it*] To prevail.

³ *By admittance*] As granted.

⁴ *A difference*] A discrimination.

⁵ *Blanch the matter*] Blanch, or start aside, from the main subject. See p. 87, note 2.

⁶ *Hominem delirum, &c.*] A doting man, that fritters away the weight of things by detailed minuteness of words. This is not from Aulus Gellius, but from Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* x. 1), whose words are ‘*Si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset.*’ Aulus Gellius, however, had no high opinion of Seneca’s style. (See the *Noctes Att.* xii. 2.) Suetonius (*Calig.* 53) says that Caligula censured Seneca’s writings as being ‘mere displays of learning, and like sand without lime.’

⁷ *In his Protagoras*] i. 337.

⁸ *In scorn*] Lat. *Per ironiam* : satirically.

⁹ *To be*] In being.

sitions are denied, there is an end of them ; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work : which false point¹ of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude : there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar,² hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion ;³ but let no man choose them for employment ; for certainly, you were better take⁴ for business a man somewhat absurd⁵ than over formal.

XXVII. OF FRIENDSHIP.

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in that speech, ‘Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a god.’⁶ For it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversion towards society, in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast ; but it is most untrue, that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man’s self for a higher conversation :⁷ such as is found to have been falsely and

¹ *False point*] Lat. *Genus spurium*.

² *Inward beggar*] One who hides poverty.

³ *Opinion*] Reputation. Lat. *Opinionem vulgi*.

⁴ *You were better take*] It were, or would be, better for you to take. This was a common idiomatic corruption in Bacon’s time. Thus in Shakspeare, *As You Like It*, iii. 3, ‘I were better to be married of him than of another ;’ and iv. 1, ‘You were better speak first.’

⁵ *Absurd*] Inconsistent.

⁶ *Whosoever, &c.*] This is from Aristotle, *Pol.* i. 1.

⁷ *A higher conversation*] A higher intercourse. Lat. *Altioribus contemplationibus*. Phil. iii. 20, ‘Our conversation is in heaven.’

feignedly in some of the heathen, as Epimenides the Candian, Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian,¹ and Apollonius of Tyana;² and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal where there is no love.³ The Latin adage meeteth with it a little, *magna civitas, magna solitudo*;⁴ because in a great town friends are scattered; so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods. But we may go further, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness: and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body;

¹ *Epimenides, &c.*] Epimenides, a poet and sage of Crete (now sometimes called Candia), was said to have passed about fifty years of his life in a cave; some say he slept all that time. Numa, the second king of Rome, pretended to be from time to time divinely instructed in legislation by an invisible nymph, Egeria, in the grove of Aricia. Empedocles, a Sicilian philosopher, affected to be thought immortal, and was said to have for a long time secluded himself from society, and at last to have thrown himself into the crater of Mount Ætna, that his death might not be known.

² *Apollonius of Tyana*] See p. 76, note 2.

³ *But a tinkling cymbal, &c.*] 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 'Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.'

⁴ *Magna civitas, &c.*] A great city is a great solitude. This adage was a quotation by Strabo from a Greek comic poet, making word-play with *Megalopolis*, the name of a town in Arcadia.

and it is not much otherwise in the mind : you may take sarza¹ to open² the liver, steel to open the spleen, flowers of sulphur³ for the lungs, castoreum⁴ for the brain ; but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil⁵ shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great Kings and Monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak : so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For Princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be, as it were, companions, and almost equals to themselves ; which many times sorteth⁶ to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes,⁷ as if it were matter of grace or conversation :⁸ but the Roman name attaineth the true use

¹ *Sarza*] An extract obtained from the root of sarsaparilla, a climbing plant found chiefly in South America. Most species of the plant have a prickly stem, whence the name *sarza*, Spanish *zarza*, a bramble. *Parilla* means a vine, and refers to the climbing or twining habit of the plant.

² *To open*] To relieve.

³ *Flowers of sulphur*] Sublimed sulphur ; a fine powder obtained by vaporising and condensing brimstone. In old chemistry the fine particles of sublimed substances were called *flowers*.

⁴ *Castoreum*] Castor ; a substance obtained from the body of the beaver. It has a bitter taste and a strong unpleasant smell. It is used medicinally for the promotion of a healthy action of the nervous system.

⁵ *Civil*] Secular ; non-ecclesiastical.

⁶ *Sorteth*] Falls out ; turns out.

⁷ *Privadoes*] *Privado*, Span., is a secret friend.

⁸ *Conversation*] Intercourse. See p. 105, note 7.

and cause thereof, naming them *participes curarum*; ¹ for it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate ² Princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla when he commanded Rome, ³ raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's overmatch. For when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit ⁴ of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting. ⁵ With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus ⁶ had obtained that interest, as ⁷ he set him

¹ *Participes curarum*] Sharers of cares.

² *Passionate*] Emotional.

³ *Commanded Rome*] Was Dictator of Rome. See p. 62, note I.

⁴ *The pursuit*] The solicitation or canvassing. Lat. *ambitum*: fraudulent solicitation. Sylla desired the consulship for Catulus.

⁵ *For that more men, &c.*] Plutarch, in the *Life of Pompey*, refers this saying to the occasion of Sylla's refusal to allow Pompey a triumph. 'Pompey required the honour of triumph, but Sylla denied it, alleging that none could enter in triumph into Rome but Consuls or Prætors; and told him plainly that if he were bent to stand in it, he would resist him. All this blanked not Pompey, who told him frankly again how men did honour the rising, not the setting, of the sun: meaning thereby how his own honour increased, and Sylla's diminished.'—NORTH'S *Translation*. It was after his triumph that Pompey procured the consulship for Lepidus. 'It spited Sylla to see him come so fast forward, and to rise to so great credit; notwithstanding, being ashamed to hinder him, he was contented to keep it to himself, until that Pompey by force, and against Sylla's will, had brought Lepidus to be consul, by the help and good will of the people that furthered his desire.'—*Ibid*.

⁶ *Decimus Brutus, &c.*] Shakspeare, in his play of *Julius Cæsar*,

down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew.¹ And this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death. For when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calphurnia,² this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamed a better dream. And it seemeth his favour was so great, as³ Antonius, in a letter, which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics,⁴ calleth him *venefica*,—‘witch;’ as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa⁵ (though of mean birth) to that height, as,⁶ when he consulted with Mæcenas⁷ about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life: there was no third way; he had made him so great. With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, *hæc pro amicitia nostra non occultavi*:⁸ and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like, or more, was between Septimus Severus and Plautianus;

has erred in supposing Marcus Brutus, instead of this Decimus Brutus, to have been Cæsar's special favourite; and he has copied Plutarch's mistake in writing *Decius* for *Decimus*.

¹ *His nephew*] Octavius, afterwards Augustus Cæsar, whose parents were Octavius, a senator, and Accia, the sister of Julius Cæsar.

² *Calphurnia*] Properly Calpurnia, Cæsar's third wife.

³ *As*] That.

⁴ *One of Cicero's Philippics*] xiii. II.

⁵ *Agrippa*] M. Vipsanius Agrippa, a distinguished Roman general. He built the Pantheon at Rome.

⁶ *As*] That.

⁷ *Mæcenas*] Chief minister of Augustus, and an eminent patron of learned men.

⁸ *Hæc pro amicitia, &c.*] Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 40. In consideration of our friendship, I have not kept back from you these things.

for he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus,¹ and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son : and did write also, in a letter to the senate, by these words : ‘ I love the man so well, as I wish he may overlive me.’² Now, if these Princes had been as a Trajan,³ or a Marcus Aurelius,⁴ a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature ; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly, that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as a half piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire ; and yet, which is more, they were Princes that had wives, sons, nephews ; yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus⁵ observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy, namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none ; and least of all those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, that towards his latter time that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding. Surely Comineus might have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Louis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pytha-

¹ *Forced his eldest son, &c.*] Forced Caracalla to marry Plautilla.

² *I love the man so well, &c.*] *Dio Cassius*, lxxv.

³ *Trajan*] A Roman emperor, distinguished for his honesty and benevolence. He died A.D. 117.

⁴ *Aurelius*] This Roman emperor was eminent for learning and virtue. He died A.D. 161.

⁵ *Comineus*] Philip de Comines, a French statesman, who was taken into the service of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and afterwards into that of Louis XI. He died in 1509. Comines may be regarded as the first modern historian, in contrast with mediæval chroniclers like Froissart and Monstrelet.

goras is dark, but true, *Cor ne edito*,—eat not the heart.¹ Certainly if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts: but one thing is most admirable² (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves; for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth, of operation upon a man's mind of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone³ for man's body; that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature. But yet, without praying in aid⁴ of

¹ *Eat not the heart*] Plutarch, *De Educ. Puer.* 17. *Diogenes Laert.* viii. 17, 18.

² *Most admirable*] Most wonderful. Lat. *Planè ad miraculum proximè accedit.* In the Appendix to Howell's *Instructions for Foreign Travel*, we have 'He will admire how the whole people are degenerated.' See p. 19, note 6.

³ *Their stone*] The philosopher's stone was a red powder by means of which the adepts, or alchemists, pretended to transmute baser metals into gold, and from which they also derived a liquor called the elixir of life, or universal medicine. The stone was often called the medicine and the powder of projection. In the *Advancement*, II., Bacon refers to the chimerical notion 'that some grains of the medicine projected should in a few moments of time turn a sea of quicksilver or other material into gold.' Ben Jonson, in *Every Man out of his Humour*, i. 2, has 'I'll make admirable use i' the projection of my medicine upon this lump of copper here.' There is a great deal on this subject in his *Alchemist*.

⁴ *Praying in aid*] *In* is an adverb in this expression, which was a forensic name of the act of petitioning the court to call in help from another person interested in the cause. In the *Advancement*, II., Bacon says, 'Whatsoever science is not consonant to presuppositions must pray in aid of similitudes.' So in Shakspeare's *Ant. and Cleop.* v. 2, 'A conqueror that will pray in aid for kindness;' and in Botero's

alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature. For, in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action ; and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression ; and even so is it of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections. For friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests ; but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel which a man receiveth from his friend ; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another : he tosseth his thoughts more easily ; he marshalleth them more orderly ; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words ; finally, he waxeth wiser than himself, and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the King of Persia, that speech was like cloth of arras, opened and put abroad ; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure, whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs.¹ Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel (they

Relations of the World, II., 'Of wheat and wine they have no such plenty, but are glad to crave in aid of their neighbours to relieve their wants.'

¹ *That speech was like, &c.*] 'Themistocles then answered him : That men's words did properly resemble the stories and imagery in a piece of arras ; for, both in the one and in the other, the goodly images of either of them are seen, when they are unfolded and laid open ; contrariwise, they appear not, but are lost, when they are shut up and close folded.'—NORTH'S Plutarch (*Themistocles*).

indeed are best) : but even without that a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate¹ himself to a statua² or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation ; which is, faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, ‘Dry light is ever the best :’³ and certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment, which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as⁴ there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a

¹ *A man were better relate*] It were better for a man to relate. See p. 105, note 4.

² *Statua*] This, as an Italian word, was a familiar term for a statue in Bacon’s time. It occurs again in the 37th and 45th Essays. So in Shakspeare, *Rich. III.* iii. 7, ‘But like dumb statuas or breathing stones ;’ *Jul. Cæs.* iii. 2, ‘Even at the base of Pompey’s statua.’

³ *Dry light, &c.*] In the *Advancement*, I., we have, ‘Heraclitus the profound said, *Lumen siccum optima anima* :’ Dry light is the best soul ; which I think Bacon must have quoted from a passage in the *Romulus* of Plutarch, where we find the words ἀνὴρ γὰρ ξηρὴ ψυχὴ ἀπλόστη. The passage is thus translated by Sir Thomas North :—‘It is that the philosopher Heraclitus meant, when he said, *The dry light is the best soul*, which flieth out of the body as lightning doth out of the cloud ; but that which is joined with the body, being full of corporal passions, is a gross vapour,’ &c. Heraclitus was styled *the profound*, or *obscure*, because of the enigmatical style of his Treatise on Nature. He was also called the weeping philosopher, from his habit of mourning over the follies of mankind, as Democritus was called the laughing philosopher, from his habit of ridiculing them.

⁴ *So as*] So that.

flatterer. For there is no such flatterer as is a man's self;¹ and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts: the one concerning manners, the other concerning business. For the first: the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine sometime too piercing and corrosive; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead; observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case; but the best receipt (best, I say, to work, and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit, for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune. For, as St. James saith, they are as men that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour.² As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one; or, that a gamester seeth always more than a looker on; or, that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters;³ or, that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all.⁴ But when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight; and if

¹ *There is no such flatterer, &c.*] See p. 39, note 2.

² *They are as men, &c.*] James i. 23, 'He is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a glass: for he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was.' *Favour* is face or countenance.

³ *He that hath said over, &c.*] This is again referred to in the 38th Essay. The Latin alphabet consists of twenty-four letters. It is an old counsel that a person in anger should count twenty, or repeat the letters of the alphabet.

⁴ *All in all*] All-sufficient.

any man think that he will take counsel but it shall be by pieces, asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man : it is well (that is to say, better perhaps than if he asked none at all), but he runneth two dangers : one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled ; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it : the other, that he shall have counsel given hurtful and unsafe (though with good meaning), and mixed partly of mischief, and partly of remedy : even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body ; and therefore, may put you in way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind ; and so cure the disease and kill the patient. But a friend that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience. And, therefore, rest not upon scattered counsels : they will rather distract and mislead than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment), followeth the last fruit, which is like the pomegranate full of many kernels : I mean aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life¹ the manifold use of friendship is to cast² and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself ; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, that a friend is another himself ;³ for that a friend is far more than

¹ *To life*] To the life ; exactly. Lat. *Ad vivum*.

² *To cast*] To consider.

³ *Another himself*] Alluding to the ἄλλος αὐτὸς of Aristotle, or the *alter idem* of Cicero.

himself. Men have their time,¹ and die many times in desire of² some things which they principally take to heart:³ the bestowing of a child,⁴ the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him ; so that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place ; but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy ; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself ? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them ; a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg ; and a number of the like : but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father, to his wife but as a husband, to his enemy but upon terms ;⁵ whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth⁶ with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless ; I have given the rule where a man cannot fitly play his own part ;⁷ if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

¹ *Men have their time*] Job vii. 1, 'Is there not an appointed time to man upon earth ?'

² *In desire of*] While desiring.

³ *Take to heart*] Set their hearts upon.

⁴ *The bestowing of a child*] Lat. *In collocacione filii in matrimonium*. To place, or dispose of, was anciently a very common meaning of *bestow*.

⁵ *Upon terms*] Lat. *Salvâ dignitate*.

⁶ *It sorteth*] It suits.

⁷ *Play his own part*] An allusion to the stage.

XXVIII. OF EXPENSE.

Riches are for spending ; and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion ; for voluntary undoing¹ may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven. But ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass ; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants ; and ordered to the best show,² that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand,³ his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts ; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting⁴ to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect⁵ they shall find it broken : but wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often : for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties.⁶ A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as saving again in some other : as, if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel ; if he be plentiful in the hall,⁷ to be saving in the stable ; and the like.

¹ *Voluntary undoing*] Lat. *Spontanea paupertas*.

² *Ordered to the best show*] So laid out, or planned, as to make the best appearance.

³ *Of even hand*] Solvent.

⁴ *Doubting*] Fearing. See p. 92, note 5.

⁵ *In respect*] In case.

⁶ *To turn all to certainties*] To be sure of what he receives and spends.

⁷ *The hall*] The dining-room.

For he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long: for hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon¹ his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who² hath a state to repair may not despise small things; and, commonly, it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges which once begun will continue; but in matters that return not³ he may be more magnificent.

XXIX. OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES.

The speech of Themistocles the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.⁴ These words (holpen a little with a metaphor)

¹ *Upon*] In respect of.

² *Who*] Whoever.

³ *Return not*] Are not of stated recurrence.

⁴ *He could not fiddle, &c.*] North's Plutarch (*Themistocles*) makes him say, 'He had no skill to tune a harp, nor a viol, nor to play on a psalterion; but if they did put a city into his hands that was of small name, weak, and little, he knew ways enough how to make it noble strong, and great.' In the *Cimon* of the same author, the account is, that Themistocles 'being requested to play upon the cithern, answered, he was never taught to sing, or play upon the cithern, howbeit he could make a poor village to become a rich and mighty city.' Cicero,

may express two differing abilities in those that deal in business of Estate. For, if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small State great, and yet cannot fiddle; as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly,¹ but yet are so far from being able to make a small State great, as² their gift lieth the other way: to bring a great and flourishing Estate to ruin and decay. And, certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters, and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the State which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient, *negotiis pares*,³ able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences, which, nevertheless, are far from the ability to raise and amplify an Estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true greatness of Kingdoms and Estates, and the means thereof: an argument⁴ fit for great and mighty Princes to have in their hand; to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces, they leese⁵ themselves in vain enterprises; nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

in his *Tusc. Quest.* i. 2, tells us that the Greeks regarded skill in music as an important accomplishment, and that Themistocles was deemed an ignorant man, because at an entertainment he declined the lyre when offered to him. See Erasmus, *Adag.* (*Canere ad myrtum*).

¹ *Cunningly*] Skilfully.

² *As*] That.

³ *Negotiis pares*] Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 39, and xvi. 18.

⁴ *An argument*] A subject.

⁵ *Leese*] Lose. See p. 81, note 4.

The greatness of an Estate in bulk and territory doth fall under measure ; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters ;¹ and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps ; but yet there is not anything amongst civil affairs more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an Estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed ;² which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there States great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command : and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundation of great Monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like : all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number itself in armies importeth³ not much, where the people are of weak courage ; for, as Virgil saith, *It never troubles the wolf how many the sheep be.*⁴ The army of the Persians, in the plains of Arbela,⁵ was such a vast sea of people as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army ; who came to him, therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night ; but he answered, he would not pilfer the victory.⁶ And the defeat was easy. When

¹ *By musters]* By a census.

² *Mustard seed]* Matt. xiii. 31.

³ *Importeth]* Signifies.

⁴ *It never troubles, &c.]* Ecl. vii. 51.

⁵ *Arbela]* A town of Assyria, where Alexander the Great defeated Darius, B.C. 331.

⁶ *He would not pilfer, &c.]* Plutarch (*Alexander*) tells us that the wish to attack the Persians by night was to prevent the dismay which might be caused by the sight of so numerous a host in daylight ; but that Alexander's motive in refusing to steal a victory was to make Darius hopeless of succeeding in any subsequent resistance.

Tigranes the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, 'Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight.'¹ But, before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter.² Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness, in any State, is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing. For Solon said well to Cræsus³ (when in ostentation he showed him his gold), 'Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.'⁴ Therefore, let any Prince or State think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers. And let Princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show, that whatsoever Estate or Prince doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew⁵ them scone after.

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet :

¹ *Yonder men, &c.*] 'If they come as ambassadors (quoth he) they are very many, but if they come as enemies they be very few.'—NORTH'S Plutarch (*Lucullus*).

² *But before the sun set, &c.*] Plutarch says it was on the following day that Lucullus thus routed the Armenians. The word *enow* was expressive of numerical quantity, thus differing from *enough* as *many* does from *much*.

³ *Solon said well to Cræsus*] Solon, an eminent lawgiver of Athens. Cræsus, king of Lydia.

⁴ *If any other come, &c.*] Lucian's *Dialogues* (*Charon*, 7).

⁵ *Mew*] Cast.

that the same people or nation should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens;¹ neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes, levied by consent of the Estate, do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England. For, you must note, that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse; so that, although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude, that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.

Let States that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and, in effect, but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods: if you leave your staddles² too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes. So in countries, if the

¹ *The blessing of Judah, &c.*] Jacob blessing his sons said of one of them 'Judah is a lion's whelp,' and of another 'Issachar is a strong ass couching down between two burdens: And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute' (Gen. xlix. 9, 14). The tribe of Issachar had the most fertile part of Palestine, including the plain of Esdraelon, which was the granary of the country; and it probably paid tribute of corn and other produce for exemption from military service. The simile of the 'strong ass couching down between two burdens' may refer to the contributions which Issachar made to the tribes immediately north and south of it. Issachar, however, was not devoid of patriotic passion; on the contrary, 'the princes of Issachar were with Deborah' in the battle against Jabin, when others 'abode among the sheepfolds to hear the bleatings of flocks.'—Judges v. 15, 16.

² *Staddles*] Spenser (*F. Q.*, I. vi. 14) speaks of Old Silvanus 'his weak steps governing and aged limbs on cypress stadle stout.' *Staddles* are stems of young trees left standing in a copse when the underwood is cut.

gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base ; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll¹ will be fit for a helmet ; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army ; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been no where better seen than by comparing of England and France ; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been, nevertheless, an overmatch ; in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of king Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable ; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard ; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition ; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings.² And thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives

¹ *The hundred poll*] The hundredth poll ; one head in a hundred. So we have *fifteens* for *fifteenth*s where Holinshed says that Jack Cade promised the people 'that neither fifteens should hereafter be demanded, nor once any impositions or tax should be spoken of.'

² *In making farms, &c.*] 'The ordinance was : *That all houses of husbandry that were used with twenty acres of ground and upwards, should be maintained and kept up for ever ; together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with them.* By this means the houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a dweller ; and the proportion of land for occupation being kept up, did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar or cottager, but a man of some substance, that might keep hinds and servants, and set the plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the might and mannerhood of the kingdom, to have farms as it were of a standard, sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and did in effect amortise a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry, or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasants.' BACON'S *Henry VII.*

to ancient Italy : *Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ*.¹ Neither is that state (which, for anything I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found anywhere else, except it be, perhaps, in Poland) to be passed over : I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms. And, therefore, out of all question, the splendour, and magnificence, and great retinues, and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom, doth much conduce unto martial greatness : whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree² of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs ; that is, that the natural subjects of the Crown or State bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern. Therefore all States that are liberal of naturalisation towards strangers are fit for empire. For to think that a handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice³ people in point of naturalisation ; whereby, while they kept their compass,⁴ they stood firm ; but when they did spread, and their boughs were become too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any State was, in this point, so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans ; therefore it sorted⁵ with them accordingly,

¹ *Terra potens, &c.*] *Æn.* i. 535. A land strong in soldiership and in fertility of soil.

² *Nebuchadnezzar's tree*] *Dan.* iv. 10.

³ *Nice*] Fastidious ; particular.

⁴ *Kept their compass*] Kept their proper bounds. *Lat.* *Intra parvos limites dominati sunt.*

⁵ *Sorted*] Turned out.

for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalisation (which they called *jus civitatis*), and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only *jus commercii*, *jus connubii*, *jus hæreditatis*: but also *jus suffragii*, and *jus honorum*; and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families: yea, to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation¹ of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations; and, putting both constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards: but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree; far above Rome and Sparta at the first. And, besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalise liberally, yet they have that which is next to it, that is, to employ, almost indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers; yea, and sometimes in their highest commands. Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the Pragmatical Sanction,² now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition. And generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail: neither must they

¹ *Plantation*] Settlement.

² *The Pragmatical Sanction*] *Pragmatic Sanction* is a term derived from the Byzantine empire, and denotes a royal or legislative ordinance relating to affairs either of church or state. The Sanction to which Bacon here refers was issued by Philip IV. in 1622, and, according to Ellis, 'gave certain privileges to persons who married, and further immunities to those who had six children.'

be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great advantage in the ancient States of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid¹ those manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is, to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which, for that purpose, are the more easily to be received),² and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds: tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c., not reckoning professed soldiers.

But, above all, for empire and greatness it importeth³ most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation. For the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations⁴ towards arms: and what is habilitation without intention and act?⁵ Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend⁶ arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the State of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end. The Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash. The Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time. The Turks have it at this day, though in great

¹ *Rid*] Take off; dispose of; provide for.

² *Are the more easily, &c.*] Ought to be welcomed with the greater readiness.

³ *Importeth*] Signifies.

⁴ *Habilitations*] Qualifications.

⁵ *Intention and act*] Direction of the mind towards the thing, and practice of it.

⁶ *Intend*] Prosecute. North's Plutarch (*Romulus*) relates that Romulus appeared to Proculus, and said to him, 'Tell the Romans, that they exercising prowess and temperancy shall be the mightiest and greatest people of the world.'

declination. Of Christian Europe they that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards. But it is so plain, that every man profiteth¹ in that he most intendeth,² that it needeth not to be stood upon: it is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths. And, on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time,³ that those States that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and 'Turks principally have done) do wonders: and those that have professed arms but for an age have notwithstanding commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms hath grown to decay.

Incident to this point is for a State to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war. For there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue) but upon some at the least specious grounds and quarrels.⁴ The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war. First, therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers;⁵ and that they sit

¹ *Profiteth*] Lat. *Proficere maximè*: makes greatest progress. To *profit* very often signified to make progress in study. In this sense, it has been met with in the 19th Essay, and occurs again in the 42nd. See p. 75, note 6.

² *Intendeth*] Bends his mind to.

³ *Oracle of time*] Utterance of history.

⁴ *Quarrels*] Causes. See p. 30, note 3.

⁵ *Politic ministers*] Lat. *Publicis ministris*.

not too long upon a provocation. Secondly, let them be prest¹ and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates ; as it ever was with the Romans : insomuch, as if² the confederates had leagues defensive with divers other States, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of Estate,³ I do not see how they may be well justified : as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia, or when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies : or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression, and the like. Let it suffice, that no Estate expect to be great, that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic : and, certainly, to a Kingdom or Estate a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever ; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health ; for, in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt ; but howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness, it maketh⁴ to be still⁵ for the

¹ *Prest*] Prompt ; alert. Old Fr. *prest*, Lat. *præstus*, ready. So in Shakspeare's *Merch of Ven.* i. 1, 'I am prest unto it ;' and in Spenser's *F. Q.* II. viii. 28, 'To prolong the vengeance prest ;' IV. iii. 22, 'Who him affronting soon, to fight was ready prest.' See p. 133, note 1.

² *As if*] That if.

³ *On the behalf, &c.*] Lat. *Propter Statuum conformitatem quandam, aut correspondentiam tacitam.*

⁴ *It maketh*] It is of advantage.

⁵ *Still*] Ever.

most part in arms: and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business) always on foot,¹ is that which commonly giveth the law, or, at least, the reputation amongst all neighbour States; as may be well seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy.² Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey his preparation³ against Cæsar, saith, *Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est: putat enim, qui mari potitur, cum rerum potiri*;⁴ and, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left⁵ that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea. The battle of Actium⁶ decided the empire of the world. The battle of Lepanto⁷ arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war: but this is when Princes or

¹ *On foot*] Maintained in readiness. Lat. *Sub vexillis*.

² *An abridgment of a monarchy*] An epitome of sovereignty.

³ *His preparation*] See p. 79, note 1.

⁴ *Consilium Pompeii, &c.*] *Ad. Att.* x. 8. Pompey's plan is evidently that of Themistocles, for he imagines that whoever is master of the sea is lord of everything. North's Plutarch states that Themistocles 'won the citizens by degrees to bend their force to sea, declaring unto them how by land they were scant able to make head against their equals, whereas by their power at sea they should not only defend themselves from the barbarous people, but moreover be able to command all Greece.' (*Themistocles*.)

⁵ *Left*] Left off.

⁶ *Actium*] A promontory of Epirus, near which Octavius (afterwards the emperor Augustus) defeated Antony, B.C. 31.

⁷ *Of Lepanto*] Lat. *Ad Insulas Cursolares*. The battle of Lepanto is often called by Italian writers the battle of the Curzolari; the Christian fleet, under Don John of Austria, being stationed near these small islands, in the Gulf of Patras, when met by the Turkish fleet from the Gulf of Lepanto. The defeat of the Turks in this battle (1571) destroyed completely their ascendancy in the Mediterranean.

States have set up their rest upon the battles.¹ But thus much is certain, that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will. Whereas those that be strongest by land are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great ; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely² inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass ;³ and because the wealth of both Indies seems, in great part, but an accessory to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which, nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers ; and some remembrance, perhaps, upon the scutcheon, and some hospitals for maimed soldiers, and such like things. But in ancient times, the trophies erected

¹ *When Princes or States, &c.*] Lat. *Cum aleæ hujusmodi præliorum totius belli fortuna commissa est* : when the fortune of the whole war has been staked on the chance of this kind of warfare. *Setting up one's rest* was language of the gaming table, meaning the staking of all one's rest—that is, remaining money—on the chances of the game. Hence it was applied to denote coming to a final determination how to act in any crisis. Thus in Botero's *Relations of the World*, ii., 'The king thought it no policy to play all his rest at once, where he might have lost more in one game than he had got in eight years ;' Montaigne's *Essays* (Cotton's Translation), ii. 17, 'I find my mind more put to it to undergo the various troubling and tossing of doubt and consultation, than to set up its rest, and to acquiesce in whatever shall happen after the die is thrown.' Shakspeare now and then plays with the expression : as in the *Merch. of Ven.* ii. 2, 'I have set up my rest to run away.' The phrase was borrowed from the French, *jouer de son reste*.

² *Merely*] Entirely ; absolutely.

³ *Compass*] Boundary, or circuit.

upon the place of the victory, the funeral laudatives¹ and monuments for those that died in the wars, the crowns and garlands personal, the style of Emperor² which the great kings of the world after borrowed, the triumphs of the generals upon their return, the great donatives and largesses³ upon the disbanding of the armies, were things able to inflame all men's courages; but, above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants, or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was. For it contained three things: honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army. But that honour, perhaps, were not fit for Monarchies; except it be in the person of the Monarch himself or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman Emperors, who did impropriate⁴ the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person; and left only for wars achieved by subjects some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: No man can by care-taking (as the Scripture saith) add a cubit to his stature,⁵ in this little model⁶ of a man's body; but in the great frame of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, it is in the power of Princes, or Estates, to add amplitude and greatness to their Kingdoms. For by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

¹ *Laudatives*] Laudatory orations; panegyrics.

² *Emperor*] *Imperator* in the ordinary sense of general, or commander, was put after the name; when adopted as the style of a sovereign, it was a prænomen.—SÜETONIUS, *Jul. Cas.* 76.

³ *Donatives and largesses*] Gifts and bounties. See p. 133, note 1.

⁴ *Impropriate*] Appropriate. The word now means, to place the profits of ecclesiastical property in the hands of a layman.

⁵ *No man can, &c.*] Matth. vi. 27.

⁶ *Little model*] Little measure or frame; microcosm.

XXX. OF REGIMEN OF HEALTH.

There is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic : a man's own observation, what¹ he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it ; than this, I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it. For strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing a man² till his age. Discern of³ the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still ;⁴ for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and, if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it ; for it is a secret both in nature and State, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like ; and try, in anything thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little ; but so as,⁵ if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again ; for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded⁶ and cheerfully-disposed at hours of meat⁷ and of sleep, and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long-lasting.⁸ As for the passions and studies of the mind : avoid envy,

¹ *Observation what*] Observing what ; observation as to what. See p. 134, note 8.

² *Are owing a man*] Are not paid to a man ; do not produce sensible effects on a man.

³ *Discern of*] Have a discreet consideration of.

⁴ *Still*] Always. Anciently the usual meaning.

⁵ *As*] That.

⁶ *Free-minded*] Void of anxiety. Lat. *Vacuo animo*.

⁷ *Meat*] This term is still used in the north to denote food in general.

⁸ *Of long-lasting*] Concerning the prolongation of life.

anxious fears, anger fretting inwards, subtle and knotty inquisitions, joys and exhilarations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes, mirth rather than joy, variety of delights rather than surfeit of them ; wonder and admiration,¹ and therefore novelties ; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom ; for those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect health principally, and in health, action ; for those that put their bodies to endure in health, may, in most sicknesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering.² Celsus³ could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries ; but with an inclination to the more benign extreme : use⁴ fasting and full eating, but rather full eating ; watching and sleep, but rather sleep ; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise ; and the like : so shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleasing and con-

¹ *Wonder and admiration*] Bacon often couples synonymes in this way. Thus, in the 29th Essay, 'Prest and ready ;' 'Donatives and largesses.' So in the Prayer Book, 'Assemble and meet together,' &c. In such instances the words are generally from different languages, and one is intended to interpret the other.

² *Tendering*] Nursing. Lat. *Corporis regimine paulo exquisitiore*.

³ *Celsus*] A Latin physician, who lived about the time of Augustus. The quotation following is from his treatise *De Medicinâ*, l. i.

⁴ *Use*] Practise.

formable to the humour of the patient, as¹ they press not the true cure of the disease ; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper ; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort ;² and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.³

XXXI. OF SUSPICION.

Suspicious, amongst⁴ thoughts, are like bats, amongst birds ; they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded ; for they cloud the mind, they leese⁵ friends, and they check⁶ with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly. They dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy. They are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain, for they take place in the stoutest⁷ natures: as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England ; there was not a more suspicious man nor a more stout : and in such a composition they do small hurt. For commonly they are not admitted but with examination whether they be⁸ likely⁹ or no ; but in fearful natures they

¹ *As*] That.

² *Two of either sort*] This should be *One of either sort*—that is, one of each sort. Compare John xix. 18, ‘Two other with him, on either side one.’

³ *His faculty*] Lat. *Arte sua*.

⁴ *Amongst*] As a kind of.

⁵ *Leese*] Lose. See p. 81, note 4.

⁶ *Check*] Interfere. See p. 40, note 2.

⁷ *Stoutest*] Boldest.

⁸ *Whether they be, &c.*] As to whether, &c. This clause forms an objective of respect to the noun *examination*. See p. 132, note 1.

⁹ *Likely*] Probably just.

gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little ; and, therefore, men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have ? Do they think those they employ and deal with are saints ? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them ? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false : for so far a man ought to make use of suspicions as to provide, as if¹ that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes ; but suspicions that are artificially² nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects ; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before ; and withal shall make that party more circumspect, not to give further cause of suspicion ; but this would not be³ done to men of base natures ; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, *Sospetto licentia fede*,⁴ as if suspicion did give a passport to faith ; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.⁵

¹ *As if*] That in case.

² *Artificially*] Lat. *Externo artificio*.

³ *I would not be*] Ought not to be. See p. 17, note 2, and p. 92, note 2.

⁴ *Sospetto licentia fede*] Suspicion discharges fidelity.

⁵ *To kindle it, &c.*] To incite fidelity to discharge suspicion. *Kindle* in the sense of *incite* occurs in Shakspeare, *As You Like It*, i. 2, 'Nothing remains, but that I kindle the boy thither ;' compare *Macbeth*, i. 3, 'That, trusted home, might yet enkindle you unto the crown.'

XXXII. OF DISCOURSE.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold¹ all arguments, than of judgment in discerning what is true ; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common-places² and themes, wherein they are good, and want variety ;³ which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion ;⁴ and again to moderate⁵ and pass to somewhat else ; for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse and speech of conversation, to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments ; tales with reason ; asking of questions with telling of opinions ; and jest with earnest : for it is a dull thing to tire, and, as we say now, to jade anything too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it ; namely, religion, matters of State, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity. Yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick ; that is a vein which would be bridled.⁶

Parce, puer, stimulis, et fortius utere loris.⁷

¹ *To hold*] To maintain.

² *Common-places*] *Loci communes* are memorandums of common topics or sources of argument, as laid down by the ancient rhetoricians to serve for all occasions of discourse.

³ *Want variety*] Lat. *Cætera steriles et jejuni*.

⁴ *To give the occasion*] Lat. *Ansam sermonis præbere*. See p. 30, note 3.

⁵ *To moderate*] To restrain, or temper down.

⁶ *A vein, &c.*] A humour which requires to be kept in check. See p. 2, note 1, and p. 135, note 3.

⁷ *Parce, puer, &c.*] Ovid, *Met.* ii. 127. Be sparing, my son, in the use of the whip, and hold the reins tightly.

And, generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much shall learn much, and content much;¹ but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge. But let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser; and let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak. Nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on: as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards.² If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *he must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself*; and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another; especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards³ others should be sparingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen, of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, 'Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry blow⁴ given?' To which the guest would

¹ *Content much*] Please in many cases.

² *Galliards*] The light, active dance so called was much in fashion in Bacon's time. Fr. *gaillard*, brisk, merry.

³ *Of touch towards*] Aiming to hit.

⁴ *Dry blow*] Scoffing hit. To *dry-beat* was to beat with a cane, or

answer, 'Such and such a thing passed.' The lord would say, 'I thought he would mar a good dinner.' Discretion of speech is more than eloquence ; and to speak agreeably¹ to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words, or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shows slowness ; and a good reply, or second speech, without a good settled speech, showeth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn ; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances,² ere one come to the matter, is wearisome ; to use none at all is blunt.³

XXXIII. OF PLANTATIONS.

Plantations⁴ are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young it begat more children ; but now it is old it begets fewer : for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure⁵ soil ; that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others. For else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of coun-

other instrument not designed to shed blood ; hence also to attack in word-play, wit-fence, or scurrility. In Shakspeare's *Com. of Err.* ii. 2, Dromio deprecates 'another dry basting ;' in *Rom. and Jul.* iv. 5, Peter says, 'Then have at you with my wit : I will dry-beat you with an iron wit, and put up my iron dagger ;' and in *Love's Lab. Lost*, v. 2, we have 'All dry-beaten with pure scoff.'

¹ *Agreeably*] In such a way as is adapted.

² *Circumstances*] Circumstantial details.

³ *Blunt*] Abrupt.

⁴ *Plantations*] Colonies.

⁵ *Pure*] Clear ; free ; unoccupied. Compare the meaning of *pur- lieu*.

tries is like planting of woods ; for you must make account to leese¹ almost twenty years' profit, and expect your recompense in the end. For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no farther. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant ; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation ; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify² over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers. In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand : as chesnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like, and make use of them. Then consider what victual, or esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year ; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Jerusalem,³ maize, and the like. For wheat, barley, and oats, they ask⁴ too much labour : but with pease and beans you may begin ; both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread. And of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there

¹ *To leese*] To lose. See p. 81, note 4.

² *Certify*] Send reports.

³ *Artichokes of Jerusalem*] The original name, of which this is a corruption, is *girasole* artichokes, from the Ital. *girasole*, the sunflower : *girare* signifying to turn, and *sole* the sun.

⁴ *Ask*] Require. See p. 21, note 5.

ought to be brought store of biscuit,¹ oatmeal, flour, meal,² and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest : as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town ; that is, with certain allowance. And let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn be to a common stock ; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion ; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private.³ Consider likewise, what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation : so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business : as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia.⁴ Wood commonly aboundeth but too much ; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ure,⁵ and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave⁶ commodity where wood aboundeth.

¹ *Biscuit*] Lat. *Panis biscotti* : bread that is twice baked. Our word is from the French *cuire* (*au four*), to bake.

² *Meal*] Lat. *Farinæ omnigenæ*.

³ *Manure for his own private*] *Private* was often used to denote private business or privacy in Bacon's time. Thus in Shakspeare, *K. John*, iv. 3, 'Whose private with me, of the Dauphin's love,' &c. ; and *Tw. Night*, iii. 4, 'Let me enjoy my private.' To *manure*, from the Fr. *manœuvrer*, literally, to work with the hand, signified to till or cultivate ground by any kind of husbandry. Milton, *P. L.* iv. 62, applies it, in an unusual way, to the work of pruning trees.

⁴ *As it hath fared, &c.*] Tobacco was the chief thing cultivated by the early colonists in Virginia, because of better wages being obtained from this than from any other source of industry.

⁵ *Ure*] Ore. The edition of 1625, in which this Essay first appeared, is carefully printed ; but I have never met with *ure* for *ore* anywhere else.

⁶ *Brave*] Grand.

Making of bay salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience.¹ Growing silk,² likewise, if any be, is a likely³ commodity: pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail. So drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit. Soap ashes, likewise, and other things that may be thought of. But moil not too much under ground; for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things. For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel: and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation. And, above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as⁴ they have God always and His service before their eyes. Let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth,⁵ but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen than merchants: for they look ever to the present gain. Let there be freedoms from custom,⁶ till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people by sending too fast company after company; but rather hearken⁷ how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great en-

¹ *Would be, &c.*] Ought to be tried. See p. 135, note 3.

² *Growing silk*] Vegetable silk.

³ *Likely*] Fair-looking; promising.

⁴ *As*] That.

⁵ *Undertakers, &c.*] Enterprising investors in the mother country.

⁶ *Custom*] Custom duties.

⁷ *Hearken*] Inquire. So in Shakspeare, *Tam. of Shr.* i. 2, 'The youngest daughter whom you hearken for;' 2 *Hen. IV.* ii. 4, 'Well, hearken the end;' and *Much Ado*, v. 1, 'Hearken after their offence;' and *Rich. III.* i. 1, 'He hearkens after prophecies and dreams.'

dangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish¹ and unwholesome grounds. Therefore, though you begin there to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still² rather upwards from the streams than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary. If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced³ from without. It is the sinfulness thing in the world to forsake or destitute⁴ a plantation once in forwardness: for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable⁵ persons.

XXXIV. OF RICHES.

I cannot call riches better than the baggage of virtue; the Roman word is better, *impedimenta*.⁶ For as the baggage is

¹ *Marish*] This is our old derivative from the Fr. *marais*. Spenser, *F. Q.* V. x. 23, has 'Only these marishes and miry bogs;' and Milton, *P. L.* xii. 629, 'As evening mist, risen from a river, o'er the marish glides.'

² *Still*] Always.

³ *Pieced*] Eked.

⁴ *Destitute*] Lat. *Destituere*, to abandon.

⁵ *Commiserable*] To be commiserated; pitiable.

⁶ *Impedimenta*] This Latin term for *baggage* literally means *hindrances of progress*.

to an army, so is riches to virtue : it cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march ; yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory. Of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution ; the rest is but conceit.¹ So saith Solomon, *where much is, there are many to consume it ; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes ?*² The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel³ great riches : there is a custody of them ;⁴ or a power of dole and donative of them ; or a fame of them ;⁵ but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices⁶ are set upon little stones and rarities ? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches ? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles ; as Solomon saith, riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man.⁷ But this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact. For, certainly, great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud⁸ riches ; but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly. Yet have no abstract nor friarly⁹ contempt of them ; but dis-

¹ *Conceit*] Conception ; fancy.

² *Where much is, &c.*] Eccles. v. 11, ‘When goods increase, they are increased that eat them ; and what good is there to the owners thereof, saving the beholding of them with their eyes ?’

³ *Reach to feel*] Fully realise or comprehend.

⁴ *There is a custody of them*] There is indeed the occupation of taking care of them.

⁵ *A fame of them*] A reputation with respect to them.

⁶ *Feigned prices*] Feigned values.

⁷ *Riches are as, &c.*] Prov. xviii. 11, ‘The rich man’s wealth is his strong city, and as an high wall in his own conceit.’ Compare x. 15.

⁸ *Proud*] Splendid. One of the meanings of the Latin *superbus*.

⁹ *Abstract nor friarly*] Lat. *Instar monachi alicujus, aut a seculo abstracti* : like some monk or recluse. In the *Advancement*, I., he

tinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, *in studio rei amplificandæ apparebat non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæri*.¹ Harken also to Solomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches ; Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons.² The poets feign, that when Plutus (which is riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes slowly ; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs, and is swift of foot : ³ meaning, that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly ; but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man : but it mought ⁴ be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil. For when riches come from the devil (as by fraud and oppression and unjust means), they come upon speed. The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent : for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches ; for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth's ; but it is slow.

says, 'It were good to leave the common-place in commendation of poverty to some friar to handle.'

¹ *In studio, &c.*] *Pro Rabir*, 2. In his desire for increase of wealth the thing sought was evidently not the gratification of avarice, but the means of doing good. The Roman knight Rabirius was accused by the senate of having lent an immense sum of money to Ptolemy Auletes, King of Egypt. Cicero defended him, and with difficulty obtained his acquittal.

² *Qui festinat, &c.*] Prov. xxviii. 20, 'He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent.' Compare verse 22.

³ *The poets feign, &c.*] In Lucian's *Dialogues* (*Timon*) Plutus, the god of riches, questioned by Mercury, is represented as saying that he does not always limp ; that when he is sent by Jupiter to anyone he feels lame, and hardly arrives till old age has overtaken that individual ; but when he is required to depart from anyone he becomes winged, and flies more swiftly than any fowl ; that, however, when he suddenly enriches men he has been sent to them not by Jupiter, but by Pluto.

⁴ *Mought*] The old past tense of *may*.

And yet, where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in England that had the greatest audits of any man in my time ; a great grazier, a great sheep-master, a great timberman, a great collier, a great corn-master, a great lead-man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry : so as the earth seemed a sea to him in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, 'That himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very easily to great riches.' For when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect¹ the prime of market, and overcome² those bargains which for their greatness are few men's money,³ and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly.⁴ The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest ; and furthered by two things chiefly,—by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing. But the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature ; when men shall wait upon⁵ others' necessity, broke⁶ by servants and instruments to draw them⁷ on, put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen,⁸ and the like practices, which are crafty and naught.⁹ As for the chopping¹⁰ of bargains, when a man buys not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer. Sharings¹¹ do greatly enrich,

¹ *Expect*] Await.

² *Overcome*] Successfully compete with.

³ *Few men's money*] Within the compass of few men's means.

⁴ *Mainly*] Greatly.

⁵ *Wait upon*] Watch. See p. 92, note 1.

⁶ *Broke*] Use intermediate agency. In Shakspeare, *All's Well*, iii. 5, we have 'And brokes with all that can in such a suit corrupt.'

⁷ *Them*] That is, the masters of those servants.

⁸ *Be better chapmen*] Give a better price.

⁹ *Naught*] Bad ; naughty.

¹⁰ *Chopping*] Barter.

¹¹ *Sharings*] Partnerships.

if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst, as that whereby a man doth eat his bread *in sudore vultus alieni*,¹ and, besides, doth plough upon Sundays.² But yet certain though it be, it hath flaws : for that the scriveners³ and brokers⁴ do value⁵ unsound men to serve their own turn. The fortune in being the first in an invention, or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches ; as it was with the first sugar-man in the Canaries :⁶ therefore, if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters, especially if the times be fit. He that resteth⁷ upon gains certain shall hardly grow to great riches : and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty : it is good, therefore, to guard adventures with certainties that

¹ *In sudore, &c.*] In the sweat of another's brow. See the first paragraph of the 41st Essay.

² *Doth plough upon Sundays*] This was one of the 'witty invectives against usury' (41st Essay) so often thrown out in Bacon's time. It was urged that the sin of Sabbath-breaking was involved in making money bear interest all the days of the week, and that it is improper to charge any interest at all, as metal is naturally barren. Francis Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598), says, 'Usury and increase by gold and silver is unlawful, because against nature : nature hath made them sterile and barren ; usury makes them procreative.' A main constituent of the plot in Shakspeare's *Merch. of Ven.* is disapproval of interest on the part of Antonio, which is so artfully taken advantage of by the Jew when he hears Antonio say, 'For when did friendship take a breed for barren metal of his friend?' (i. 3.)

³ *Scriveners*] Men employed to place money at interest.

⁴ *Brokers*] Negotiators.

⁵ *Value*] Ascribe sufficiency to.

⁶ *The first sugar-man, &c.*] In the Canary Islands, at the commencement of the 16th century, the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and the making of sugar, first acquired commercial importance, and were thence extended to the West India Islands and the Brazils.

⁷ *Resteth*] Relies exclusively.

may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for resale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service,¹ though it be of the best rise,² yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, *testamenta et orbos tanquam indagine capi*³), it is yet worse, by how much men submit themselves to⁴ meaner persons than in service. Believe not much them that seem to despise riches; for they despise them⁵ that despair of them; and none worse⁶ when they come to them. Be not penny-wise:⁷ riches have wings; and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred or to the public; and moderate portions prosper⁸ best in both. A great state left to an heir is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in years and judgment. Likewise, glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure

¹ *By service*] By service of the State. Lat. *Per servitium Regum aut Magnatum.*

² *Though it be, &c.*] Though such service be among the best means to rise.

³ *Testamenta, &c.*] *Annal.* xiii. 42. Wills and orphans drawn as it were into his net.

⁴ *Submit themselves to*] Depend on, or deal with.

⁵ *They despise them*] They despise riches.

⁶ *None worse*] None despise riches less. The Latin version has, *neque invenies usquam tenaciores*: nor will you anywhere find more grasping persons.

⁷ *Penny-wise*] Lat. *In minutis tenax.*

⁸ *Prosper*] Turn out.

not thine advancements ¹ by quantity, but frame them by measure ; and defer not charities till death, for certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

Finished for the end

XXXV. OF PROPHECIES.²

I mean not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions :³ but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa ⁴ to Saul, 'To-morrow thou and thy sons shall be with me.' ⁵ Homer ⁶ hath these verses :

At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis :⁷

a prophecy, as it seems, of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses :

Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat Tellus, Tethysque novos
Detegat orbes ; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule :⁸

¹ *Advancements*] Givings.

² *Of Prophecies*] This Essay is not in the Latin translation.

³ *Natural predictions*] Predictive tokens in nature.

⁴ *The Pythonissa*] A Pythoness is a woman 'possessed with a spirit of divination' (Acts xvi. 16), so called from the Pythonissa, or Pythia, the oracular priestess of Apollo's temple at Delphi.

⁵ *To-morrow, &c.*] 1 Sam. xxviii. 19, 'To-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me.' It was not the witch of Endor but the ghost of Samuel that spoke these words to Saul.

⁶ *Homer*] This ought to be *Virgil*.

⁷ *At Domus Æneæ, &c.*] Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 97, 'But the house of Æneas shall have dominion over all lands, even his grandsons and their descendants.'

⁸ *Venient annis, &c.*] *Med.* ii. 375. At a remote period of the

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates¹ dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren; but Aristander, the soothsayer, told him that his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty.² A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, *Philippis iterum me videbis*.³ Tiberius said to Galba, *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium*.⁴ In Vespasian's time there went a prophecy in the East,⁵ that those that should come forth of Judæa should reign over the world; which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck;⁶ and, indeed, the succession that followed him for many years made golden times. Henry the Sixth of England said of Henry the Seventh,

future a time will come when Ocean shall relax the restraints with which he binds the globe, and a vast continent shall be laid open, and the pilot shall discover new worlds, and Thule be no longer the farthest limit of the earth. Tiphys was pilot in the Argonautic expedition.

¹ *Polycrates*] Tyrant of Samos, put to death by Orætes, governor of Magnesia. Bacon here quotes from Herodotus, iii. 124.

² *Philip of Macedon dreamed, &c.*] Plutarch, *Alexander*.

³ *Philippis iterum, &c.*] Plutarch (*Brutus* and *Julius Cæsar*). Thou shalt see me again at Philippi. Plutarch says it was the evil gemus of Brutus that thus addressed him.

⁴ *Tu quoque, Galba, &c.*] Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 26. Thou also, Galba, shalt taste of empire. Suetonius (*Galba*, 4), with more probable accuracy, ascribes the prediction to Augustus, as Galba must have been very young at the time.

⁵ *A prophecy in the East, &c.*] Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 13; Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 4.

⁶ *Domitian dreamed, &c.*] Suetonius, *Domitian*, 23.

when he was a lad, and gave him water, ‘This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive.’¹ When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the queen mother,² who was given to curious arts, caused the king her husband’s nativity to be calculated under a false name: and the astrologer gave a judgment, that he should be killed in a duel; at which the queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels: but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and Queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

When hempe is spun,
England’s done :

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word *hempe* (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name; for that the king’s style is now no more of England but of Britain. There was also another prophecy, before the year of 88, which I do not well understand :

There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh and the May,
The black fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build houses of lime and stone,
For after wars shall you have none.

¹ *Henry the Sixth, &c.*] Bacon, in his *History of Henry VII.*, says that the king ‘was washing his hands at a great feast.’ In Shakspeare’s 3 *Hen. VI.* the king says—

‘Come hither, England’s hope:—if secret powers
Suggest but truth to my divining thoughts,
This pretty lad will prove our country’s bliss,’ &c.

² *The queen mother*] Catherine de’ Medicis, wife of Henry II. of France.

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in 88 : for that the King of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,¹

Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,²

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream,³ I think it was a jest ; it was, that he was devoured of a long dragon, and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind : especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology ; but I have set down these few only of certain credit for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter-talk by the fire-side. Though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief : for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised, for they have done much mischief ; and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things. First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss ; as they do generally also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies : while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect :⁴ as that of Seneca's

¹ *Regiomontanus*] This Latin word signifies of *king's mountain*, that is of Königsberg, Johann Müller, a native of Königsberg, being so called. His prophecy was written in German, and was translated into Latin, but with considerable alteration, by Bruschi.

² *Octogesimus octavus, &c.*] The 88th, a wonderful year.

³ *Cleon's dream*] Bacon alludes to a passage in the *Knights* of Aristophanes, 195, where Cleon the Athenian demagogue is satirized.

⁴ *Collect*] Guess, or conjecture.

verse.¹ For so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's *Timæus*, and his *Atlanticus*,² it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one), is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains merely contrived and feigned after the event passed.

XXXVI. OF AMBITION.

Ambition is like choler: which is a humour³ that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped; but if it be stopped, and cannot have his way, it becometh adust,⁴ and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye;⁵ and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still⁶ progressive, and not retrograde: which, because it cannot be without incon-

¹ *Seneca's verse*] See p. 148.

² *His Atlanticus*] Bacon here refers to Plato's *Critias*, of which the Latin translation by Cornarius is called *Critias sive Atlanticus*. In this dialogue an imaginary land called *Atlantis* is discoursed of.

³ *Which is a humour*] In the old humoral pathology, four humours, blood, phlegm, choler, and melancholy, were supposed to constitute, by their varying proportions, the various temperaments of individuals.

⁴ *Adust*] Inflamed.

⁵ *An evil eye*] Envy. See p. 31, note 4.

⁶ *Still*] Ever.

venience, it is good not to use such natures at all. For if they rise not with their service, they will take order¹ to make their service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak² in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious:³ for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest; and to take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to Princes in matters of danger and envy: for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled dove,⁴ that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since, therefore, they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak⁵ how they are to be bridled, that they may

¹ *Take order*] Take measures; endeavour.

² *Speak*] State.

³ *Be they never, &c.*] In expressions of this kind, *ever* (Lat. *utcumque*) may be more correct than *never*; it should be observed, however, that the latter word is an abridgment of the phrase *as never was*.

⁴ *A seeled dove*] To *seel* the eyes of a hawk was to blind it by sewing up the eyelids, that it might become accustomed to the hood. This cruelty was sometimes practised on doves, which made them, when let loose, soar almost perpendicularly like the lark, until they were exhausted and dropped dead. In Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, iii. 2, we have—

‘Come, seeling night,
Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day.’

Ford, in the *Broken Heart*, which was written in 1633, seems to have had Bacon's comparison in mind, where it is said—

‘Ambition, like a seeled dove, mounts upward,
Higher and higher still, to perch on clouds,
But tumbles headlong down with heavier ruin.’—ii. 2.

⁵ *There resteth to speak*] It remains for me to state. Fr. *Il me reste à dire*.

be less dangerous. There is less danger of them if they be of mean birth than if they be noble ; and if they be rather harsh of nature than gracious and popular ; and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in Princes to have favourites ; but it is, of all others,¹ the best remedy against ambitious great ones. For when the way of pleasuring² and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over-great. Another means to curb them is to balance them by others as proud as they. But then there must be some middle counsellors, to keep things steady ; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a Prince may animate and inure some meaner persons to be, as it were, scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin : if they be of fearful natures, it may do well ; but if they be stout³ and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and disgraces ;⁴ whereby they may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful, the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other, to appear in everything ; for that breeds confusion, and mars business : but yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependences.⁵ He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great

¹ *Of all others*] See p. 10, note 4.

² *Pleasuring*] Compare Shakspeare, *Merry Wives*, i. 1, 'What I do is to pleasure you ;' *Much Ado*, v. 1, 'Draw, to pleasure us ;' *Merch. of Ven.* i. 3, 'Will you pleasure me ?'

³ *Stout*] Bold.

⁴ *Disgraces*] Disfavours.

⁵ *Great in dependences*] Powerful in dependents or objects of patronage. Lat. *Qui gratiâ et clientelis pollet.*

task ; but that is ever good for the public. But he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers is the decay of a whole age. Honour hath three things in it : the vantage-ground to do good ;¹ the approach to kings and principal persons ; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man ; and that Prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising ;² and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery ;³ and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

XXXVII. OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS⁴

These things are but toys⁵ to come amongst such serious observations ; but yet, since Princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy than daubed with cost. Dancing to song is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it that the song be in quire,⁶ placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken

¹ *The vantage ground, &c.*] Compare the passage in the 11th Essay, 'But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring,' &c.

² *More sensible of duty, &c.*] More actuated or influenced by the sense of duty than by the feeling of ambition.

³ *Bravery*] Ostentation.

⁴ *Masques and triumphs*] Masques were dramatic performances in which the actors wore masks. Triumphs were precessional pageants or shows by torchlight. This Essay is omitted in the Latin translation.

⁵ *Toys*] Trifles.

⁶ *In quire*] In choir.

music;¹ and the ditty fitted to the device.² Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace ; I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing) ; and the voices of the dialogue would be³ strong and manly (a bass and a tenor, no treble), and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches, anthem wise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity ; and generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure ; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, specially coloured and varied : and let the masquers, or any other that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down ; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings. Let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that show best by candle-light are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green ; and oes, or spangs,⁴ as they are of

¹ *Broken music*] By this name the music of the harp, lute, and other stringed instruments was distinguished from that of wind instruments. Shakspeare plays with the expression ; thus, in *Troil. and Cress.* iii. 1, 'Fair prince, here is good broken music ;' *As You Like It*, i. 2, 'Is there any else longs to see this broken music in his sides ;' *Henry V.* v. 2, 'Come, your answer in broken music ; for thy voice is music, and thy English broken.'

² *The ditty fitted, &c.*] The words fitted to the nature of the diversion.

³ *Would be*] Ought to be. See p. 135, note 3.

⁴ *Oes or spangs*] Circlets or spangles. Shakspeare frequently calls

no great cost, so they are of most glory.¹ As for rich embroidery, it is lost, and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizors are off: not after examples of known attires; Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques² not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, sprites, witches, Ethiopes, pigmies, Turquets,³ nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statues⁴ moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in antimasques; and anything that is hideous, as devils, giants, is, on the other side, as unfit. But chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company, as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety; but all is nothing, except the room be kept clear and neat.

For justs, and tourneys, and barriers:⁵ the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts, as lions, bears, camels, and the like: or in the devices of their entrance; or in the bravery⁶ of their liveries; or in the

a circular shape an O. In *Mids. N. Dream*, iii. 2, comparing Helena with the stars, he says—

‘Fair Helena, who more engilds the night
Than all yon fiery oes and eyes of light.’

¹ *Glory*] Show; splendour.

² *Antimasques*] These were interludes between the Acts of the principal masque.

³ *Turquets*] Turks.

⁴ *Statuas*] This is the Italian word *statua* pluralised. See p. 113, note 2.

⁵ *Barriers*] The Palestra, for wrestling and other athletic performances.

⁶ *Bravery*] Showiness.

goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII. OF NATURE IN MEN.

Nature is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune;¹ but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failings,² and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings. And, at the first, let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders, or rushes; but, after a time, let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes. For it breeds great perfection if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be: first to stay and arrest nature in time, like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry;³ then to go less in quantity, as if one should, in forbearing⁴ wine, come from drinking healths⁵ to a draught at a meal; and, lastly, to discontinue altogether. But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best:

Optimus ille animi vindex, lædētia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.⁶

¹ *Importune*] Importunate.

² *Often failings*] Frequent failures. *Often* was anciently much used as an adjective. In Scripture, 1 Tim. v. 23, we have 'thine often infirmities.'

³ *Like to him, &c.*] See p. 114, note 3.

⁴ *Forbearing*] Intending to abstain from. Compare Shakspeare, *As You Like It*, ii. 7, 'Then, but forbear your food a little while.'

⁵ *Healths*] Toasts. See p. 73, note 3.

⁶ *Optimus ille, &c.*] Ovid, *Remed. Amor.* 293. He is the best

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right: understanding it where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission. For both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and, if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions. But let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion, or temptation. Like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end, till a mouse ran before her. Therefore, let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness, for there is no affectation; in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures sort¹ with their vocations; otherwise they may say, *multum incola fuit anima mea*,² when they converse in those things they do not affect.³ In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times, for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves; so as the spaces⁴ of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs

deliverer of his mind, who has broken the bonds that gall his breast, and at once has rid himself of grief.

¹ *Sort*] Suit; agree.

² *Multum incola, &c.*] Psal. cxx. 6, 'My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace.'

³ *When they converse, &c.*] When their occupation or engagement is with those things which they do not like.

⁴ *So as the spaces*] So that the intervals.

either to herbs or weeds ; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

XXXIX. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination ; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions ; but their deeds are after¹ as they have been accustomed. And therefore, as Machiavel² well noteth (though in an evil-favoured³ instance), there is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings, but take such a one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But Machiavel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Ravailiac,⁴ nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard ;⁵ yet this rule holdeth still,⁶ that nature, nor the engagement of words,⁷ are not so forcible as custom. Only, superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood⁸ are as firm as butchers by occupation ; and votary

¹ *After*] According.

² *Machiavel*] See p. 49, note I. The quotation following is from the *Discourses on Livy*, iii. 6.

³ *Evil-favoured*] Ill-favoured ; ugly.

⁴ *A Friar Clement, nor a Ravailiac*] See p. 19, note 5.

⁵ *Nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard*] The Latin adds *Aut Guidone Faulxio*. In 1582 John Jaureguy attempted the life of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange. Two years later the Prince was shot by the fanatic Balthazar Gerard.

⁶ *Holdeth still*] Ever holds.

⁷ *Nor the engagement of words*] Lat. *Aut promissorum fidem et ferociam*.

⁸ *Men of the first blood*] The Latin has *Primæ classis sicarii*. Bacon evidently means those who for the first time are men of blood or murderers.

resolution¹ is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things, the predominancy of custom is everywhere visible; insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before: as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire:² nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpses of their husbands.³ The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as queching.⁴ I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel⁵ condemned put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a withe, and not in a halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body.

♦ Therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's

¹ *Votary resolution*] Resolution consequent upon a solemn vow.

² *The Indians, &c.*] He found this in North's Plutarch (*Alexander*), which says of Calanus, the Indian philosopher, that 'he laid him down upon the wood-stack, covered his face, nor never stirred hand nor foot, nor quitted when the fire took him, but did sacrifice himself in this sort, as the manner of his country was that the wise men should so sacrifice themselves.'

³ *The wives strive, &c.*] The suttees in India were formally abolished in 1829, and very few instances of them have occurred since.

⁴ *Queching*] Stirring. See note 2, above. The Latin inaccurately renders it by *ejulatu aut gemitu ullo*. Spenser wrote *quich* and *quinche*. Thus, in the *F. Q. V.* ix. 33, 'That once he could not move, nor quich at all;' and in the *View of the State of Ireland*, 'No part of all that realme shall be able or dare so much as to quinche.'

⁵ *An Irish rebel*] He is supposed to refer to Brian O'Rourke, who, however, was executed in 1597, a late year in Elizabeth's reign.

life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years : this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions, in youth than afterwards ; for it is true, that late learners¹ cannot so well take the ply,² except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custom simple and separate be great, the force of custom copulate, and conjoined, and collegiate is far greater. For there example teacheth, company comforteth,³ emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth ; so as in such places the force of custom is in his⁴ exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication⁵ of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined. For commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds. But the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

¹ *Late learners*] The Lat. version has *opsimathes*, a Greek term from *ὀψέ* late, and *μανθάνω* to learn.

² *Take the ply*] Take the bending ; be pliant. An allusion to the training of boughs. So in the *Advancement*, II., ‘A conceit that they can bring about occasions to their ply.’

³ *Comforteth*] Fortifies or strengthens. So in the *Advancement*, II., water ‘doth scatter and leese itself in the ground, except it be collected into some receptacle, where it may by union comfort and sustain itself ;’ and in the *History of Henry the Seventh*, ‘If neighbour princes should patronise and comfort rebels against the law of nations and of leagues.’ In Shakspeare, *Wint. Tale*, ii. 3, Paulina speaks of obsequious counsellors *comforting* the evils of Leontes, that is, upholding or encouraging his evil conduct.

⁴ *His*] Its. See p. 39, note 5.

⁵ *The great multiplication*] The Latin adds *et (ut chymicorum vocabulo uitar) projectio*. See p. III, note 3.

XL. OF FORTUNE.

It cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce much to fortune : favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue. But chiefly the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ*,¹ saith the poet.² And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors. *Serpens, nisi serpentem comederit, non fit draco*.³ Overt and apparent⁴ virtues bring forth praise ; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune, certain deliveries of a man's self,⁵ which have no name. The Spanish name, *desemboltura*, partly expresseth them : when there be not stonds⁶ nor restiveness in a man's nature ; but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune. For so Livy, after he had described Cato Major in these words, *In illo viro tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocumque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturum videretur*,⁷ falleth upon

¹ *Faber quisque, &c.*] Every man the architect of his own fortune.

² *Saith the poet*] The poet here meant may be Appian, of whom the tract *De Republicâ Ordinandâ*, generally attributed to Sallust, says, 'Res docuit id verum esse, quod in carminibus Appian ait, *Fabrum esse quemque fortunæ*.' But the Latin version has *inquit Comicus* : and probably Bacon thought the adage to have grown out of a passage in the *Trinummus* (ii. 2) of Plautus, for in the *Advancement*, II., he writes '*Nam pol sapiens*, saith the comical poet, *fingit fortunam sibi* ; and it grew to an adage, *Faber quisque fortunæ propriæ*.'

³ *Serpens, nisi serpentem, &c.*] A serpent if it has not devoured a serpent does not become a dragon.

⁴ *Apparent*] Manifest.

⁵ *Deliveries of a man's self*] Lat. *Facultates se expediendi*. Powers of adapting one's self.

⁶ *Stonds*] Obstacles, or resistances. Again used in the 50th Essay.

⁷ *In illo viro, &c.*] Livy, xxxix. 40. In that man there was such vigour both of mind and body, that he seemed to be one that would achieve fortune for himself wherever he might have been born.

that,¹ that he had *versatile ingenium*.² Therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see fortune : for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milken way in the sky ; which is a meeting or knot of a number of small stars, not seen asunder, but giving light together. So are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions,³ that he hath *Poco di matto* ;⁴ and, certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest. Therefore extreme lovers of their country or masters were never fortunate ; neither can they be, for when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. A hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover⁵ (the French hath it better, *entreprenant*, or *remuant*) ; but the exercised fortune⁶ maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be⁷ but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation ; for those two felicity breedeth : the first within a man's self ; the latter in others towards him. All wise men, to decline⁸ the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune ; for so they may the better assume them : and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher Powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, *Cæsarem portas, et*

¹ *Falleth upon that*] Takes note of that.

² *Versatile ingenium*] A versatile genius.

³ *Conditions*] Qualities.

⁴ *Poco ai matto*] A little of the fool.

⁵ *Remover*] Agitator.

⁶ *The exercised fortune*] The fortune that has been attained through persevering efforts.

⁷ *And it be*] An, or if, it be. See p. 98, note 4.

⁸ *To decline*] To repress.

*fortunam ejus.*¹ So Sylla chose the name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*. And it hath been noted, that those that ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy end unfortunate. It is written, that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the State of his government, often interlaced this speech, *and in this Fortune had no part*, never prospered in anything he undertook afterwards.² Certainly there be whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets: as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas:³ and that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

¹ *Cæsarem portas, &c.*] 'You carry Cæsar and his fortune.' On the occasion to which this refers, Cæsar was passing in disguise from Macedonia to Italy during a storm. The ship-master fearing to proceed, Cæsar revealed himself, and said, 'Fear not, for thou hast Cæsar and his fortune with thee.' The story is in Plutarch's life of Julius Cæsar. Shakspeare's *Henry VI.* Part I. i. 2, makes the Maid of Orleans say—

'Now am I like that proud insulting ship,

Which Cæsar and his fortune bare at once.'

² *Timotheus the Athenian, &c.*] 'Sylla did not as Timotheus the son of Conon had done: who, when his adversaries did attribute his noble deeds to the favour of Fortune, he took it in very ill part. Wherefore one day when this Timotheus was returned from the wars with great victories, after he had openly acquainted the Athenians with the whole discourse of his doings in his voyage, he said unto them: My lords of Athens, Fortune hath had no part in all this which I have told unto you. Hereupon the gods, it should seem, were so angry with this foolish ambition of Timotheus, that he never afterwards did any worthy thing, but all went utterly against the hair with him. But Sylla, to the contrary, did not only patiently abide their words that said he was a happy man and singularly beloved of Fortune, but also, increasing this opinion, and glorying as at a special grace of the gods, did attribute the honour of his doings unto Fortune.'—North's Plutarch (*Sylla*).

³ *As Plutarch saith, &c.*] 'Like as Antimachus' verses are full of sinews and strength, and yet at this present we see they are things greatly laboured and made with much pain; and that contrariwise in

XLI. OF USURY.

Many have made witty invectives against usury. They say that it is pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe ;¹ that the usurer is the greatest sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday ; that the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of :

Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent ;²

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, *in sudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum* ; not, *in sudore vultus alieni* ;³ that usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they do judaise ;⁴ that it is against nature for money to beget money ;⁵ and the

Homer's verses, besides the passing workmanship and singular grace in them, a man findeth at the first sight that they were easily made and without great pain : even so in like manner, whosoever will compare the painful bloody wars and battles of Epaminondas and Agesilaus with the wars of Timoleon, in the which, besides equity and justice, there is also great ease and quietness, he shall find that they have not been Fortune's doings simply, but that they came of a most noble and fortunate courage. Yet he himself doth wisely impute it unto his good hap and favourable fortune.'—North's Plutarch (*Timoleon*).

¹ *The tithe*] The tenth, or customary rate of 10 per cent.

² *Ignavum fucos, &c.*] *Georg.* iv. 168. They drive from their dwellings the idle swarm of drones.

³ *In sudore, &c.*] *Gen.* iii. 19. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread ; not in the sweat of another man's face. See p. 146.

⁴ *Because they do judaise*] Because they act like Jews. The Jews were obliged by statute to wear orange-tawny or yellow caps ; more anciently it was compulsory for every Jew from the age of seven to wear on his outer garment a badge of yellow felt, six inches long and three inches broad.

⁵ *That it is against nature, &c.*] Francis Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598), says, ' Usury and increase by gold and silver is unlaw-

like. I say this only, that usury is a *concessum propter duritiem cordis*:¹ for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as² they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks, discovery³ of men's estates, and other inventions; but few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out, or culled out; and warily to provide, that while we make forth⁴ to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are: first, that it makes fewer merchants. For were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon merchandising, which is the *vena porta*⁵ of wealth in a state. The second, that it makes poor merchants; for as a farmer cannot husband⁶ his ground so well if he sit⁷ at a great rent, so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well if he sit at great usury. The third is incident to the other two; and that is, the decay of customs of Kings, or States, which ebb or flow with merchandising. The fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a Realm or State into a few hands; for the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box;⁸ and ever a State flourisheth when wealth is

ful, because against nature; nature hath made them sterile and barren: usury makes them procreative.' Compare what Antonio says in Shakspeare, *Merch. of Ven.* i. 3, 'When did friendship take a breed for barren metal of his friend?'

¹ *A concessum, &c.*] A concession because of the hardness of the heart. He alludes to Matth. xix. 8.

² *As*] That.

³ *Discovery*] The making known.

⁴ *Make forth*] Advance.

⁵ *Vena Porta*] See p. 81, note 1.

⁶ *Husband*] Cultivate.

⁷ *Sit*] Occupy, or hold.

⁸ *Will be in the box*] Will be in the coffer of the idle usurer. The Latin version has *promo cedat*, turns out to be the lender's.

more equally spread. The fifth, that it beats down the price of land : for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandising or purchasing ; and usury waylays both. The sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug. The last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates, which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are : first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandising, yet in some other it advanceth it ; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at interest ; so as¹ if the usurer either call in, or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand² of trade. The second is, that, were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods) far under foot ;³ and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging, or pawning, it will little mend the matter ; for either men will not take pawns without use,⁴ or if they do, they will look precisely⁵ for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel moneyed man in the country that would say, 'The devil

¹ *So as*] So that.

² *Stand*] Stoppage.

³ *Under foot*] Under the mark ; below the level of its worth.

⁴ *Use*] Interest for use of money was so called. Thus in Shakspeare, *Meas. for Meas.* i. 1—

' Nature never lends
The smallest scruple of her excellence,
But, like a thrifty goddess, she determines
Herself the glory of a creditor,
Both thanks and use.'

⁵ *Precisely*] Strictly.

take this usury, it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds.' The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue if borrowing be cramped. Therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle. All States have ever had it in one kind of rate or other: so as¹ that opinion must be sent to Utopia.²

To speak now of the reformation and reglement³ of usury: how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears, by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled; the one, that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other, that there be left open a means to invite moneyed men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater; for if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek⁴ for money. And it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandise, being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate; other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus: that there be two rates of usury; the one free and general for all, the other under license only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchandising. First, therefore, let usury

¹ *So as*] So that.

² *Utopia*] This term, from the Greek οὐ, not, and τόπος, a place, signifies *nowhere*, and was the name given by Sir Thomas More to an imaginary country, blessed with perfect laws and institutions.

³ *Reglement*] This is the French word for *regulation*.

⁴ *To seek*] At a loss. So in the *Advancement*, I., 'Men bred in learning are perhaps to seek in points of convenience and accommodating for the present;' and in the old play of *The Morning Ramble*, v. 1, 'How we shall save our reputations to our several adversaries, when they find us together, I am to seek.'

in general be reduced to five in the hundred, and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the State shut itself out to take any penalty¹ for the same. This will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness; this will ease infinite borrowers in the country; this will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more,² whereas this rate of interest yields but five; this by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury at a higher rate; and let it be with the cautions following. Let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant or whosoever. Let it be no bank, or common stock, but every man be master of his own money: not that I altogether mislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the State be answered some small matter³ for the license, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender; for he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandising: for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's monies in the country;⁴

¹ *Shut itself out, &c.*] Exclude itself, or abstain, from taking any duty.

² *Six in the hundred, &c.*] $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., viz. the 16th part of 100.

³ *Answered some small matter*] Paid some small portion of the rate.

⁴ *To colour other men's monies, &c.*] To lend in their own name,

so as the license of nine will not suck away the current rate of five ; for no man will send his monies far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected¹ that this doth in a sort authorise usury, which before was in some places but permissive : the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

XLII. OF YOUTH AND AGE.

A man that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second. For there is a youth in thoughts as well as in ages ; and yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old ; and imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as it were, more divinely. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years : as it was with Julius Cæsar and Septimius Severus. Of the latter of whom it is said, *juventutem egit erroribus, imo furoribus, plenam*.² And yet he was the ablest emperor almost of all the list. But reposed natures may do well in youth ; as it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus, Duke of Florence,³ Gaston de Foix,⁴ and others. On the other side, heat and

or use the privilege of their license with the monies of other men living out of the said towns.

¹ *If it be objected, &c.*] This paragraph is omitted in the Latin version.

² *Juventutem, &c.*] Spartian, *vit. Sev.* He spent a youth full of errors, and even of frenzies.

³ *Cosmus, Duke of Florence*] Cosmo I., a descendant of the Medici family ; died in 1574.

⁴ *Gaston de Foix*] Nephew to Louis XII. ; killed at the battle of Ravenna in 1512.

vivacity in age is an excellent composition¹ for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge ; fitter for execution than for counsel ; and fitter for new projects than for settled business. For the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them ; but in new things abuseth² them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business ; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold ; stir more than they can quiet ; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees ; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly ;³ care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences ; use extreme remedies at first ; and, that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them ; like an unready⁴ horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both ; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both : and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors : and, lastly, good for extern accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth. But for the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin upon the text, *Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams*,⁵ inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than

¹ *Composition*] Temperament.

² *Abuseth*] Deceives, or misleads.

³ *Pursue, &c.*] Pursue absurdly some few principles, &c.

⁴ *Unready*] That does not readily obey the rein.

⁵ *Your young men, &c.*] Joel ii. 28.

old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream : and, certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth ; and age doth profit¹ rather in the powers of understanding than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes : these are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned ; such as was Hermogenes² the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle, who afterwards waxed stupid : a second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions which have better grace in youth than in age ; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech ; which becomes youth well, but not age ; so Tully saith of Hortensius, *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat* :³ the third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years⁴ can uphold ; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant*.⁵

XLIII. OF BEAUTY.

Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set ; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate

¹ *Doth profit*] Improves.

² *Hermogenes*] He lived about the middle of the second century. He is said to have lost all power of memory at the age of 24.

³ *Idem manebat, &c.*] Cicero, *Brut.* 95, 'He continued the same, but not appropriately so.'

⁴ *Tract of years*] Gradual process of years. 'Tract of time' (from the Lat. *tractus temporis*) was anciently a familiar expression. Milton has it in *P. L.* v. 498, 'Improved by tract of time.' Compare North's Plutarch (*Lucullus*), 'The one by tract and delay, and the other by speed and swiftness.' See p. 193, note 4.

⁵ *Ultima primis cedebant*] The last actions were inferior to the first. Livy (xxxviii. 53) says so *in effect*. His words are, 'Memorabilior

features, and that hath rather dignity of presence than beauty of aspect. Neither is it almost seen, that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue; as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency. And therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behaviour than virtue. But this holds not always; for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour¹ is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious² motion more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot express; no, nor the first sight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions;³ the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces to make one excellent.⁴ Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them. Not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity (as a musician that maketh

prima pars vitæ quam postrema fuit:’ the first part of his life was more distinguished than the last. But Bacon’s phrase is from Ovid:—

‘Cœpisti melius quam desinis: *ultima primis*
Cedunt.’—*Heroid.* ix. 23.

¹ *Favour*] Feature.

² *Gracious*] Graceful.

³ *The one would make, &c.*] This refers to Albert Durer’s treatise *De Symmetriâ Partium Humani Corporis*.

⁴ *The other, by taking, &c.*] This was not Apelles, but Zeuxis, whom the people of Crotona requested to make a picture of Helen for the temple of Juno. They sent him a number of the most beautiful of their women, that he might combine in his picture the excellences of all. (Cicero, *De Invent.* ii.)

an excellent air in music) and not by rule. A man shall see faces, that, if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good ; and yet all together do well. If it be true, that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel though persons in years seem many times more amiable ; *pulchrorum autumnus pulcher* ;¹ for no youth can be comely but by pardon,² and considering the youth as to make up the comeliness. Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last ; and, for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance ;³ but yet certainly again, if it light well,⁴ it maketh virtues shine and vices blush.

XLIV. OF DEFORMITY.

Deformed persons are commonly even with Nature ; for as Nature hath done ill by them,⁵ so do they by Nature ; being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) *void of natural affection* :⁶ and so they have their revenge of Nature. Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind, and where Nature erreth in the one, she ventureth⁷ in the other : *ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero*. But because there is in man an election touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline

¹ *Pulchrorum autumnus pulcher*] The autumn of fair ones is fair. The Latin version introduces this with the words *secundum illud Euripidis*.

² *By pardon*] By allowance being made for the time of life.

³ *Out of countenance*] Melancholy.

⁴ *If it light well*] Lat. *Si bene collocetur*. He means, if beauty happen to be associated with a virtuous disposition.

⁵ *By them*] Towards them.

⁶ *Void of natural affection*] Rom. i. 31 ; 2 Tim. iii. 3.

⁷ *Ventureth*] Runs a risk.

and virtue ; therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign, which is more deceivable,¹ but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath anything fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn ; therefore, all deformed persons are extreme bold : first, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn ; but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise : and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement till they see them in possession : so that upon the matter,² in a great wit deformity is an advantage to rising. Kings, in ancient times (and at this present in some countries), were wont to put great trust in eunuchs ; because they that are envious towards all are more obnoxious and officious³ towards one. But yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials⁴ and good whisperers, than good magistrates and officers : and much like is the reason of⁵ deformed persons. Still the ground⁶ is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn ; which must be either by virtue or malice : and, therefore, let it not be marvelled, if sometimes they prove excellent persons ; as was Agesilaus, Zanger the son

¹ *Deceivable*] Deceiving.

² *Upon the matter*] In regard to this matter.

³ *Obnoxious and officious*] Subject and ready to serve.

⁴ *Spials*] *Espials*, or *spials*, meaning *spies*, is from the old French *espier*, to spy. Both forms are of frequent occurrence in our old authors. We have *espials* in the 48th Essay.

⁵ *The reason of*] The reason respecting ; the account of.

⁶ *The ground*] The general rule.

of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca president of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.

XLV. OF BUILDING.

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat¹ committeth himself to prison. Neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about it; whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat, but ill ways, ill markets, and, if you will consult with Momus,² ill neighbours. I speak not of many more: want of water; want of wood, shade, and shelter; want of fruitfulness and mixture of grounds of several natures; want of prospect; want of level grounds; want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity³ of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business; or too near them, which lurcheth⁴ all provisions, and maketh everything dear; where a man

¹ *Seat*] Site.

² *If you will consult, &c.*] If you will take amusement into consideration. Momus was the god of mirth.

³ *The commodity* The advantage, or accommodation.

⁴ *Lurcheth*] Swalloweth up. From the Lat. *lurco*, a glutton.

hath a great living laid together, and where he is scanted : all which as it is impossible, perhaps, to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can ; and, if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately galleries, and rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his houses,¹ said, *Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter ?* Lucullus answered, *Why, do you not think me as wise as some fowl are, that ever change their abode towards the winter ?*

To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art, who writes books *De Oratore*, and a book he entitles *Orator* ; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will, therefore, describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof: for it is strange to see now in Europe such huge buildings as the Vatican, and Escorial,² and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair³ room in them.

First, therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides :⁴ a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Esther,⁵ and a side for the household; the one for feasts and triumphs,⁶ and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only

¹ *In one of his houses*] Near Tusculum. Plutarch's Lives (*Lucullus*).

² *The Vatican and Escorial*] The *Vatican*, so named from one of the seven hills on which Rome was built, is a cluster of buildings, consisting of the papal palace, a museum, a library, &c. The *Escorial*, or *Escorial*, is an immense palace in Spain, situated about 30 miles to the north-west of Madrid.

³ *Fair*] Fine ; handsome.

⁴ *Sides*] Wings.

⁵ *Esther*] i. 5, 6.

⁶ *Triumphs*] Pageants. See p. 3, note 1.

returns,¹ but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand. I would have on the side of the banquet, in front, one only goodly room, above stairs, of some forty foot high; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place, at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel (with a partition between), both of good state and bigness: and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair; and under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk under ground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries, and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen foot high apiece above the two wings; and a goodly leads upon the top railed with statuas² interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel,³ and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour: and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining-place of servants; for, otherwise, you shall have the servants' dinner after your own: for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel.⁴ And so much for the front; only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

¹ *Returns*] Receding continuations of the style of the front.

² *Statuas*] See p. 113, note 2.

³ *Newel*] The vertical axis formed by the narrow ends of the steps in a winding staircase.

⁴ *Tunnel*] Funnel of a chimney. So in Spenser's *F. Q.* II. ix. 29, 'And one great chimney, whose long tunnel thence the smoke forth threw.'

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front. And in all the four corners of that court fair stair-cases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within the row of buildings themselves. But those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter; but only some side alleys with a cross,¹ and the quarters to graze,² being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row of return³ on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries; in which galleries let there be three or five fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance; and fine coloured windows of several works. On the household side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments,⁴ with some bed-chambers; and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights⁵ on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun,⁶ both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it⁷ also that you may have rooms both for summer and winter, shady for summer, and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one

¹ *But only some side alleys, &c.*] But let only walks be paved, viz. side walks, and two intersecting middle walks.

² *To graze*] To be in grass; to be grassplats.

³ *The row of return, &c.*] The line of building forming that side of the court which proceeds from the banquet side.

⁴ *Entertainments*] Receptions. *Entertain* used simply to mean receive or admit. In Shakspeare's *Com. of Err.*, iii. 1, Antipholus says, 'Mine own doors refuse to entertain me.'

⁵ *Without thorough lights*] Lat. *Non translucida*. *Thorough* or *through lights* are opposite windows in a room. In the *Advancement*, II., he says, 'This great building of the world had never thorough lights made in it till the age of us and our fathers.'

⁶ *From the sun*] Away from, or out of, the sun. See the Editor's *Text-Book of Eng. Grammar*, p. 170, § 24.

⁷ *Cast it*] Fashion it.

cannot tell where to become ¹ to be out of the sun or cold. For embowed windows,² I hold them of good use (in cities, indeed, upright ³ do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street); for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and, besides, they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost thorough the room doth scarce pass the window. But let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.

Beyond this court, let there be an inward court, of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all sides: and in the inside, cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story. On the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade, or estivation;⁴ and only have opening and windows towards the garden; and be level upon the floor, no whit sunk under ground, to avoid all dampishness. And let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statuas in the midst of this court; and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries; whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the Prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, *anticamera*, and *recamera*,⁵ joining to it. This upon the second story. Upon the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars;

¹ *Where to become*] Lat. *Ubi te recipias*: where to betake yourself; where to go. Compare Spenser, *F. Q.* I. x. 16, 'The dear Charissa, where is she become?' also III. iv. 1, 'Where is the antique glory now become?' and Shakspeare, *3 Hen. VI.* ii. 1, 'Where our right valiant father is become;' iv. 4, 'Where is Warwick then become?'

² *Embowed windows*] Bay windows.

³ *Upright*] Straight with the wall.

⁴ *Estivation*] Summer retreat.

⁵ *Anticamera and recamera*] Antechamber and rear or inner chamber.

and upon the third story likewise, an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return,¹ let there be two delicate or rich cabinets,² daintily³ paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that may be thought upon. In the upper gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances.⁴ And thus much for the model of the palace; save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts: a green court plain, with a wall about it; a second court of the same, but more garnished with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garnished on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

XLVI. OF GARDENS.

God Almighty first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handiworks: and a man shall ever see, that, when ages grow to civility⁵ and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely; as if

¹ *By way of return*] Lat. *In solario secundo*: in the second story.

² *Cabinets*] Lat. *conclavia* (*cabinettos moderni vocant*).

³ *Daintily*] Elegantly.

⁴ *Avoidances*] Conduits, for voiding or discharging the water.

⁵ *Civility*] Civilisation.

gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year ; in which, severally, things of beauty may be then in season. For December and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter : holly, ivy, bays, juniper ; cypress-trees, yew, pine-apple-trees,¹ fir-trees ; rosemary, lavender ; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue ; germander, flags ; orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved ;² and sweet marjoram warm set.³ There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon tree, which then blossoms ; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey ; primroses, anemones ; the early tulipa, the hyacinthus orientalis, chamairis, fritellaria. For March there come violets, especially the single blue, which are the earliest ; the yellow daffodil, the daisy ; the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree in blossom ; sweet brier. In April follow the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces,⁴ and lilies of all natures, rosemary flowers, the tulipa, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle ; the cherry-tree in blossom, the Damascene⁵ and plum-trees in blossom, the white thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, specially the blush pink ; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later ; honeysuckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marigold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, ribes,⁶ figs in fruit, rasps, vine-flowers, lavender in

¹ *Pine-apple-trees*] Pine-trees.

² *Stoved*] Kept in hot-houses.

³ *Warm set*] Lat. *Juxta parietem et versus solem satus*.

⁴ *Flower-de-Luces*] The iris. Fr. *Fleur de lis*.

⁵ *The Damascene*] The damson, or Damascus plum.

⁶ *Ribes*] Currants.

flowers, the sweet satyrian, with the white flower; herba muscaria,¹ liliū convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears, and plums in fruit, gennittings,² quodlins.³ In August come plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricocks,⁴ barberries, filberds, musk melons, monks hoods of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones,⁵ nectarines, cornelians, wardens,⁶ quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, holly oaks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London. But my meaning is perceived that you may have *ver perpetuum*,⁷ as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells;⁸ so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness: yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays, likewise, yield no smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram.

¹ *Herba muscaria*] The fly-trap.

² *Gennittings*] A kind of apples that are early ripe. Properly called *Juncatings*, from being fit for use in June.

³ *Quodlins*] Codlins.

⁴ *Apricocks*] Now called *Apricots*.

⁵ *Melocotones*] *Malum cotoneum*, a kind of quince.

⁶ *Wardens*] So called from the French *poire de garde*, the pear laid up in store. The warden, or keeping-pear, was much used for pies. In Shakspeare, *Wint. Tale*, iv. 2, the Clown says, 'I must have saffron to colour the warden pies.'

⁷ *Ver perpetuum*] A perpetual spring.

⁸ *Are fast flowers*, &c.] Do not send out their odours to any distance. Lat. *Odoris sui sunt tenaces, nec aerem tingunt*.

That which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, specially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide.¹ Next to that is the musk-rose; then the strawberry-leaves dying, with² a most excellent cordial smell; then the flower of the vines: it is a little dust like the dust of a bent,³ which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then sweet brier, then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilliflowers, specially the matted pink, and clove gilliflower; then the flowers of the lime-tree; then the honey-suckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean flowers I speak not, because they are field-flowers. But those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three, that is, burnet, wild thyme, and water-mints. Therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are indeed prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts: a green in the entrance, a heath or desert in the going forth,⁴ and the main garden in the midst; besides alleys on both sides. And I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in

¹ *Bartholomew-tide*] St. Bartholomew's day is August 24th.

² *With*] So the edition of 1629; that of 1625 has *which*. The Latin has *quæ emittunt*; the true reading, therefore, as Aldis Wright thinks, is probably 'which yield.'

³ *A bent*] A species of grass.

⁴ *In the going forth*] In the outgoing.

the midst; by which you may go in front upon ¹ a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden. But because the alley will be long, and, in great heat of the year, or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden, by going in the sun thorough the green; therefore you are of either side the green to plant a covered alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots,² or figures, with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands, they be but toys: you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge, the arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad; and the spaces between of the same dimensions with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turret, with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds; and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass, gilt, for the sun to play upon. But this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope,³ of some six foot, set all

¹ *Upon*] Towards.

² *Knots*] These were intricate and fantastical figures in which flower-beds were sometimes laid out. Compare Shakspeare, *Rich. II.* iii. 4, 'Her hedges ruined, her knots disordered;' *Love's Lab. Lost*, i. 1, 'Thy curious-knotted garden:' and Milton's *P. L.* iv. 241:—

'Flowers worthy of Paradise, which not nice Art
In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon
Poured forth profuse.'

³ *Slope*] This was the ordinary adjective for *sloping*. So in Milton's *P. L.* iv. 261, 'Down the slope hills;' and *Comus*, 98, 'The slope sun his upward beam shoots.'

with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covered alleys of the green may deliver you; but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting¹ your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it² into, first it be not too busy, or full of work: wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden-stuff: they be for children. Little low hedges round like welts,³ with some pretty pyramids, I like well; and in some places fair columns, upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty foot high; and some fine banqueting-house, with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures: the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water; the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first,

¹ *Letting*] Hindering. So in Scripture, Exod. v. 4, 'Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, let the people from their works?' Rom. i. 13, 'Ofentimes I purposed to come unto you, but was let hitherto.'

² *Cast it*] Fashion it.

³ *Welts*] Edgings of cord.

the ornaments of images, gilt or of marble, which are in use, do well : but the main matter is so to convey the water, as¹ it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern ; that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand. Also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it, doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves : as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images ; the sides likewise ; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre ; encompassed also with fine rails of low statuas. But the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain ; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground by some equality of bores,² that it stay little. And for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweet brier and honey-suckle, and some wild vine amongst ; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses ; for these are sweet, and prosper in the shade. And these to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set some with wild thyme, some with pinks, some with

¹ As] That.

² Equality of bores] Conduits allowing discharge equal to the influx.

germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with liliū convallium, some with sweet-williams red, some with bear's foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly. Part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without. The standards to be roses, juniper, holly, barberries (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom), red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweet brier, and such like: but these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade; some of them wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that, when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery. And those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys likewise you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges. And this would be¹ generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair, and large, and low, and not steep; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees.² At the end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees; and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees, and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close,

¹ *Would be*] Ought to be. See p. 135, note 3.

² *Deceive the trees*] Cheat or rob the trees of nourishment.

but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and, in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary.

So I have made a platform of a princely garden: partly by precept; partly by drawing, not a model, but some general lines of it. And in this I have spared for no cost: but it is nothing for great Princes, that, for the most part, taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together, and sometimes add statuas, and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII. *OF NEGOTIATING.*

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases, where a man's eye, upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a direction how far to go; and, generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is

better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report, for satisfaction sake.¹ Use also such persons as affect² the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter: as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd³ men for business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them, for that breeds confidence; and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite⁴ than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start or first performance is all: which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which⁵ must go before; or else a man can persuade the other party, that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honestest man. All practice⁶ is to discover or to work. Men discover themselves in trust,⁷ in passion, at unawares; and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find

¹ *Will help the matter, &c.*] Will report better than they have heard, in order to give satisfaction to the employer.

² *Affect*] Like; have an affection for.

³ *Absurd*] Unreasonable. See p. 105, note 5.

⁴ *In appetite*] That are not yet satisfied with the promotion they have got.

⁵ *Which*] That it; as.

⁶ *Practice*] Lat. *negotatio*.

⁷ *Discover themselves, &c.*] Reveal themselves in entrusting their thoughts to others.

an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negotiations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

Costly followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune¹ in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factionous followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other: whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence² that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious³ followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience; for they taint business through want of secrecy; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers likewise which are dangerous, being indeed espials;⁴ which inquire the secrets of the house,

¹ *Importune*] Importunate.

² *Ill intelligence*] Bad understanding.

³ *Glorious*] Lat. *gloriosi*, boastful.

⁴ *Espials*] Spies. See p. 176, note 4.

and bear tales of them to others ; yet such men many times are in great favour ; for they are officious,¹ and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to that which a great person himself professeth (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like), hath ever been a thing civil,² and well taken even in monarchies, so it be without too much pomp or popularity. But the most honourable kind of following is, to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance³ virtue and desert in all sorts of persons. And yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable than with the more able ; and besides, to speak truth, in base times active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true, that in government it is good to use men of one rank equally : for to countenance some extraordinarily is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claim a due. But contrariwise in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good ; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious, because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first ; because one cannot hold out that proportion.⁴ To be governed (as we call it) by one⁵ is not safe ; for it shows softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation ; for those that would not censure⁶ or speak ill of a man immediately, will

¹ *Officious*] Ready to serve.

² *A thing civil*] A becoming thing.

³ *Apprehendeth to advance*] Aims at advancing ; lays hold on, in order to promote.

⁴ *Because one cannot, &c.*] Lat. *Nam quæ tractu temporis sequentur vix istis initiis respondere possunt.*

⁵ *To be governed, &c.*] To be influenced and directed, &c. Lat. *Fingi (quod aiunt) et regi ab amico aliquo.*

⁶ *Censure*] Judge. Anciently the usual meaning. The verb is here modified by the adverb *ill*.

talk more boldly of those that are so great with them,¹ and thereby wound their honour. Yet to be distracted with many is worse ; for it makes men to be of the last impression,² and full of change. To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable ; for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters ; and the vale best discovereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified.³ That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

XLIX. OF SUITORS.

Many ill matters and projects are undertaken ; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds ; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance. Some embrace suits⁴ which never mean to deal effectually

¹ *With them*] Here *them* is made to represent what Bacon has previously called *a man*.

² *Of the last impression*] Swayed by the impression that has been conveyed last to his mind. The Latin translator, as Aldis Wright points out, seems to have misapprehended Bacon's phrase, giving *postremæ (ut nunc loquuntur) editionis*.

³ *And least of all, &c.*] He alludes to the opinion of Aristotle, Seneca, and others, and to such friends as Pylades and Orestes, Damon and Pythias, &c. On this subject Johnson, in *The Rambler*, No. 64, says : ' Friendship is seldom lasting but between equals, or where the superiority on one side is reduced by some equivalent advantage on the other. Benefits which cannot be repaid, and obligations which cannot be discharged, are not commonly found to increase affection ; they excite gratitude indeed, and heighten veneration, but commonly take away that easy freedom and familiarity of intercourse without which, though there may be fidelity, and zeal, and admiration, there cannot be friendship.

⁴ *Embrace suits*] Lat. *Petitiones in manus suas recipiunt*.

in them ; but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other mean,¹ they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or, at least, to make use in the meantime of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other ; or to make an information whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext ; without care what become of the suit when that turn is served : or generally to make other men's business a kind of entertainment² to bring in their own. Nay, some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall ; to the end to gratify the adverse party, or competitor. Surely, there is in some sort a right in every suit ; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controversy ; or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling³ the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour : but let him choose well his referendaries,⁴ for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses,⁵ that plain dealing in denying⁶ to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely,⁷ and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only

¹ *There may be life, &c.*] The matter may prosper through some other agency.

² *Entertainment*] Admission.

³ *Depraving or disabling*] Lowering or disparaging. Common significations in our old literature.

⁴ *His referendaries*] His referees.

⁵ *Abuses*] Abusing of one's patience. Lat. *Procrastinationibus*.

⁶ *Denying*] Refusing, or declining.

⁷ *Barely*] Without any colouring ; simply according to fact.

honourable but also gracious.¹ In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place:² so far forth consideration may be had of his trust,³ that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note,⁴ but the party left to his other means; and in some sort recompensed for his discovery.⁵ To be ignorant of the value of a suit is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience. Secresy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them:⁶ to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others. But timing of the suit is the principal; timing I say, not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things than those that are general. The reparation of a denial⁷ is sometimes equal to the first grant; if a man show himself neither dejected nor discontented. *Iniquum petas ut æquum feras*,⁸ is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise, a man were better rise⁹ in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor,¹⁰ will not, in the

¹ *Gracious*] Graceful.

² *To take little place*] To have little preference.

³ *Consideration may be had, &c.*] Acknowledgment may be made on account of what he has confided.

⁴ *The note*] The notice, or communication.

⁵ *Discovery*] Information.

⁶ *For voicing them*] As for proclaiming them, or making a boast of them. So Shakspeare, *Timon*, iv. 3, 'Is this the Athenian minion whom the world voiced so regardfully?'

⁷ *The reparation of a denial*] Lat. *Denegatæ petitionis iteratio*.

⁸ *Iniquum petas, &c.*] Ask too much, that you may carry away what is fair. This is from Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.* iv. 5.

⁹ *A man were better rise*] It would be better for a man to prosper gradually. See p. 105, note 4.

¹⁰ *The suitor*] Lat. *Supplicantis erga se studium*.

conclusion, lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person as his letter ; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of suits ; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

L. OF STUDIES.¹

Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse ; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition² of business. For expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one ; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies is sloth; to use them too much for ornament is affectation ; to make judgment wholly by their rules is the humour of a scholar. They perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men condemn studies ; simple men admire them ;³ and wise men use them:⁴ for they teach not their own use ; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute ; nor to believe and take for granted ; nor to find talk and discourse ; but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested:

¹ *Of Studies*] This formed the first Essay in the original edition of 1597.

² *Disposition*] Arrangement ; planning.

³ *Admire them*] Regard them with wonder.

⁴ *Use them*] Apply them.

that is, some books are to be read only in parts ; others to be read, but not curiously ; ¹ and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts ² made of them by others ; but that would be ³ only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books ; else distilled books are like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man ; conference, a ready man ; and writing, an exact man.⁴ And, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory ; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit ; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise ; poets, witty ; the mathematics, subtle ; natural philosophy, deep ; moral, grave ; logic and rhetoric, able to contend. *Abeunt studia in mores.*⁵ Nay, there is no stond ⁶ or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out ⁷ by fit studies : like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises. Bowling is good for the stone and reins ; shooting, for the lungs and breast ; gentle walking, for the stomach ; riding, for the head ; and the like. So, if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics, for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again ; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find difference, let him study the School-

¹ *Curiously*] With minute attention.

² *Extracts*] Abstracts. Lat. *compendia*.

³ *Would be*] Ought to be. See p. 135, note 3.

⁴ *And writing an exact man*] Lat. *Scriptio autem, et notarum collectio, perlecta in animo imprimit, et altius figit*.

⁵ *Abeunt studia in mores*] Ovid, *Heroid.* xv. 83. Studies pass into (tend to form) manners or habits. This is also referred to in the *Advancement*, I.

⁶ *Stond*] Obstacle, or resistance. The word has occurred before, in the 40th Essay.

⁷ *Wrought out*] Gradually removed. Lat. *Emendari et edolari*.

men,¹ for they are *Cymini sectores*;² if he be not apt to beat over matters,³ and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyer's cases: So every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LI. OF FACTION.

Many have an opinion not wise, that for a Prince to govern his Estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering⁴ those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one. But I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising, must adhere;⁵ but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better⁶ to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as⁷ he be a man of the one faction which is most passable⁸

¹ *The Schoolmen*] See p. 69, note 7.

² *Cymini sectores*] Splitters of cummin-seeds: splitters of hairs or straws, as we now say. The name was applied by Dion Cassius to Antoninus Pius, of whom Bacon, in the *Advancement*, I., says, 'He was called *Cymini sector* (a carver or divider of cummin), which is one of the least seeds; such a patience he had, and settled spirit, to enter into the least and most exact differences of causes.'

³ *To beat over matters*] To beat about amongst matters; to ransack them.

⁴ *Ordering*] Regulating.

⁵ *Must adhere*] Must take a side; must attach themselves to some party.

⁶ *Were better*] See p. 196, note 9.

⁷ *As*] That.

⁸ *Which is most passable*] Who is least offensive.

with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction, and it is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called *optimates*) held out awhile against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar: but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time: but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars; but the same holdeth in private factions. And therefore those that are seconds in factions do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals: but many times also they prove ciphers and cashiered; for many a man's strength is in opposition, and when that faileth,¹ he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men once placed take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter: thinking, belike, that they have the first sure; and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it;² for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning³ of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage

¹ *Faileth*] Ceases.

² *Lightly goeth away with it*] Generally carries it, or prevails; usually attains his object. Lat. *Plerumque rem obtinet*. *Lightly* was often used for *commonly*. Thus, in Ben Jonson's *Discoveries*, 'The great thieves of a state are lightly the officers of the crown;' and in his *Cynthia's Revels*, 'He is not lightly within to his mercer;' and in Shaksp. *Rich.* III. iii. 1, 'Short summers lightly have a forward spring.'

³ *The winning*] The gaining over.

between two factions¹ proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy, they hold it a little suspect in Popes, when they have often in their mouth *Padre commune*,² and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the State are ever pernicious to Monarchies; for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of Sovereignty, and make the King *tanquam unus ex nobis*;³ as was to be seen in the league of France.⁴ When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in Princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under Kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions,⁵ but yet still⁶ are quietly carried by the higher motion of *primum mobile*.⁷

LII. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

He that is only real had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil. But if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men, as it is in gettings and gains. For the proverb is true, that *light gains make heavy purses*;

¹ *The even carriage, &c.*] Lat. *Indifferens illa inter partes processio, neutri inclinando.*

² *Padre commune*] Common father.

³ *Tanquam unus ex nobis*] As one of us.

⁴ *As was to be seen, &c.*] Compare what is said in the 15th Essay, p. 55.

⁵ *Their proper motions*] Their own particular motions.

⁶ *Still*] Always.

⁷ *Primum mobile*] See p. 56, note 1.

for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note ;¹ whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals. Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as Queen Isabella² said) like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms. To attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them ; for so shall a man observe them in others ; and let him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace, which is, to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured : how can a man comprehend³ great matters that breaketh his mind too much to small observations ?⁴ Not to use ceremonies at all is to teach others not to use them again ; and so diminish respect to himself : especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures : but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon,⁵ is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks. And certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers, a man shall be sure of familiarity ; and therefore it is good a little to keep state :⁶ amongst a man's inferiors, one shall be sure of reverence ; and therefore it is good a little to

¹ *In note*] In notice or observation.

² *Isabella*] Wife of Ferdinand of Arragon. She died in 1504.

³ *Comprehend*] Embrace.

⁴ *Observations*] Observances.

⁵ *Exalting them, &c.*] So in North's Plutarch (*Coriolanus*) 'Whose valiantness he commended beyond the moon ;' and in Spenser, *F. Q.* II. iii. 38, 'Endeavouring my dreaded name to raise above the moon.'

⁶ *State*] Dignity.

be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self¹ to others is good, so it be with demonstration² that a man doth it upon regard³ and not upon facility. It is a good precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as,⁴ if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion,⁵ let it be with condition; if you allow⁶ his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be too curious⁷ in observing times and opportunities. Solomon saith, *he that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap.*⁸ A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device,⁹ but free for exercise or motion.

¹ *To apply one's self*] To accommodate one's self; to make one's self obsequious. See p. 28, note 2.

² *So it be, &c.*] Provided it be done so as to indicate.

³ *Upon regard*] Lat. *Ex comitate et urbanitate.*

⁴ *As*] Lat. *Exempli gratiâ.*

⁵ *Motion*] Proposition.

⁶ *Allow*] Express approval of.

⁷ *Curious*] Minutely attentive.

⁸ *He that considereth, &c.*] Eccles. xi. 4.

⁹ *Point device*] Exact. *Point-devise* is said to have denoted originally a kind of lace of a very fine pattern or device. Bell, however, is probably right in the opinion expressed in one of his notes to Chaucer's *House of Fame*. 'Poynt devys,' he says, 'would seem to be a corruption of the French *point de vice*, without fault.'

LIII. OF PRAISE.

Praise is the reflection of virtue. But it is as the glass, or body which giveth the reflection.¹ If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught,² and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous. For the common people understand not many excellent virtues: the lowest virtues draw praise from them; the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration;³ but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all: but shows and *species virtutibus similes*⁴ serve best with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid.⁵ But if persons of quality and judgment concur,⁶ then it is (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*:⁷ it filleth all round about, and will not easily away; for the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There be so many false points of praise that a man may justly hold it a suspect.⁸ Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes which may serve every man; if

¹ *As the glass, &c.*] According to the nature of the glass, &c.

² *Naught*] Worthless. In Prov. xx. 14, we have 'It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer.'

³ *Admiration*] Wonder.

⁴ *Species virtutibus similes*] Appearances resembling virtues.

⁵ *Fame is like a river, &c.*] Compare the *Advancement*, I., where he says the same of *Time*: 'Time seemeth to be of the nature of a river or stream, which carrieth down to us that which is light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is weighty and solid.'

⁶ *Concur*] That is, with the common people.

⁷ *Nomen bonum, &c.*] A good name is like sweet-smelling ointment. This is derived from Eccles. vii. 1.

⁸ *A suspect*] A suspected thing; in suspicion.

he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow¹ the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self; ² and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most; but if he be an impudent flatterer, look,³ wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to perforce, *spretâ conscientiâ*.⁴ Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to Kings and great persons, *laudando præcipere*; ⁵ when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; *pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium*; ⁶ insomuch as it was a proverb among the Grecians, *that he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push*⁷ *rise upon his nose*; as we say, that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie. Certainly, moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Solomon saith, *He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse*.⁸ Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases: but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome which are

¹ Follow] Humour.

² A man's self] See p. 39, note 2.

³ Look] An interjectional use of the verb, to excite attention, as in the Prayer Book (*Offertory Sentences*), 'Look, what he layeth out, it shall be paid him again.'

⁴ *Spretâ conscientiâ*] In spite of that consciousness.

⁵ *Laudando præcipere*] By praising to give instructive suggestion.

⁶ *Pessimum genus, &c.*] This is from Tacitus, *Agric.* 41, '*Pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes*:' that worst kind of enemies, those that praise.

⁷ A push] A pimple or pustule.

⁸ *He that praiseth, &c.*] Prov. xxvii. 14.

theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business ; for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, *sbirrerie*,¹ which is, under-sheriffries ; as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catchpoles ; though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, *I speak like a fool* ;² but speaking of his calling, he saith, *magnificabo apostolatum meum*.³

LIV. OF VAIN-GLORY.

It was prettily devised of Æsop, the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and said, *What a dust do I raise !* So are there some vain persons that, whatsoever goeth alone,⁴ or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious⁵ must needs be factious ; for all bravery⁶ stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent, to make good their own vaunts. Neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual ; but according to the French proverb, *beaucoup de bruit peu de fruit*,—much bruit, little fruit. Yet certainly there is use of this quality in civil affairs. Where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth⁷ in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, there are sometimes great effects of cross lies ; as if a man that negotiates

¹ *Sbirrerie*] Lat. *Hispanico vocabulo, sbirrarias*.

² *I speak like a fool*] 2 Cor. xi. 21, 23.

³ *Magnificabo, &c.*] I will magnify my apostleship. Rom. xi. 13.

⁴ *Alone*] Of itself ; of its own accord.

⁵ *Glorious*] Boastful.

⁶ *Bravery*] Bravado.

⁷ *As Titus Livius noteth*] xxxvii. 48.

between two Princes, to draw them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other : and sometimes he that deals between man and man raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either. And in these and the like kinds, it often falls out that somewhat is produced of nothing : for lies are sufficient to breed opinion,¹ and opinion brings on substance. In military commanders and soldiers, vain-glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory² one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure,³ a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures, have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation. *Qui de contemnendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt.*⁴ Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation. Certainly, vain-glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholding⁵ to human nature, as⁶ it received his⁷ due at the second hand.⁸ Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age⁹ so well, if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves : like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain-glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, *Omnium*,

¹ *Opinion*] Reputation.

² *Glory*] Vaunting.

³ *Upon charge, &c.*] Involving cost and risk.

⁴ *Qui de contemnendâ, &c.*] Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 15. Those that write books inculcating contempt of glory, inscribe their own names.

⁵ *Beholding*] Beholden. See p. 37, note 4.

⁶ *As*] That.

⁷ *His*] Its. See p. 39, note 5.

⁸ *At the second hand*] Through commendation by others.

⁹ *Her age*] The feminine here is allusive to Fame as a goddess.

*quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quâdam ostentator:*¹ for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion; and, in some persons, is not only comely but gracious.² For excusations, cessions,³ modesty itself, well governed, are but arts of ostentation. And amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of; which is, to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. For saith Pliny,⁴ very wittily, In commending another you do yourself right; for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior; if he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more: if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less.⁵ Glorious men are the scorn of wise men; the admiration of fools; the idols of parasites; and the slaves of their own vaunts.

LV. OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

The winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage. For some in their actions do woo and affect⁶ honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired.⁷ And some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the show of it; so as⁸ they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been at-

¹ *Omnium quæ, &c.*] Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 80. One who set off with peculiar art whatever he said and did.

² *Gracious*] Graceful.

³ *Cessions*] Concessions.

⁴ *Saith Pliny*] *Epist.* vi. 17.

⁵ *You much less*] You are much less to be discommended.

⁶ *Affect*] Show a liking for.

⁷ *Admired*] Wondered at.

⁸ *So as*] So that.

tempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance,¹ he shall purchase more honour than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them he doth content² every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband³ of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another⁴ hath the quickest reflection; like diamonds cut with facets; and therefore let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation: *Omnis fama a domesticis emanat.*⁵ Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best distinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends rather to seek merit than fame; and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity⁶ than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these: In the first place are *conditores imperiorum*, founders of States and Commonwealths; such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman,⁷ Ismael.⁸ In the second place are *legislatores*, lawgivers, which are also called second founders, or *perpetui principes*, because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone: such were

¹ *Circumstance*] Concomitants.

² *As in some, &c.*] That in some one of them he may please.

³ *Husband*] Economist; manager.

⁴ *Broken upon another*] Set off in detail against another.

⁵ *Omnis fama, &c.*] Q. Cicero, *De Petit. Consul.* v. 17. All fame emanates from domestics.

⁶ *Felicity*] Good hap or fortune. See p. 165, note 1.

⁷ *Ottoman*] Othman I. the founder of the Ottoman empire, 1298.

⁸ *Ismael*] The Sophy, or King of Persia. He has been referred to before, in the 43rd Essay, p. 174.

Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar,¹ Alphonsus of Castile, the Wise, that made the *Siete Partidas*.² In the third place are *liberatores*, or *salvatores*; such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France. In the fourth place are *propagatores* or *propugnatores*³ *imperii*, such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders. And in the last place are *patres patriæ*, which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live. Both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number. Degrees of honour in subjects are: First, *participes curarum*,⁴ those upon whom Princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs: their right hands, as we call them. The next are *duces belli*, great leaders; such as are Princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars. The third are *gratiosi*, favourites; such as exceed not this scantling⁵—to be solace to the Sovereign, and harmless to the people. And the fourth, *negotiis pares*;⁶ such as have great places under Princes, and execute their places with sufficiency.⁷ There is an honour likewise which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely: that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

¹ *Edgar*] He became King of England in 959, and distinguished himself as a legislator.

² *The Siete Partidas*] The Seven Parts; a digest of the laws of Spain made by Alphonso X. of Castile, whose reign began in 1252.

³ *Propagatores* or *propugnatores*] Extenders or defenders.

⁴ *Participes curarum*] Sharers of cares. See p. 108.

⁵ *Scantling*] Small measure.

⁶ *Negotiis pares*] Men equal to the demands of business. See p. 119, note 3.

⁷ *Sufficiency*] Ability.

LVI. OF JUDICATURE.

Judges ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare*: to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law; else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome; which, under pretext of exposition of Scripture, doth not stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find, and by show of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty; more reverend than plausible; and more advised¹ than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. *Cursed* (saith the law) *is he that removeth the landmark.*² The mislayer of a mere stone is to blame: but it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples; for these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain. So saith Solomon, *Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario.*³ The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue; unto the advocates that plead; unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them; and to the Sovereign or State above them.

First, for the causes, or parties that sue: There be (saith the Scripture) *that turn judgment into wormwood;*⁴ and surely there be also that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is, to suppress force and fraud; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts.

¹ *Advisea*] Heedful; wary.

² *Cursed, &c.*] Deut. xxvii. 17.

³ *Fons turbatus, &c.*] Prov. xxv. 26. 'A righteous man falling down before the wicked is as a troubled fountain and a corrupt spring.'

⁴ *There be, &c.*] Amos v. 7.

A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills ;¹ so when there appeareth on either side a high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal, that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem*,² and where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions, and strained inferences ; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws. Specially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror³ be not turned into rigour ; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos laqueos* :⁴ for penal laws pressed are a shower of snares upon the people. Therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution : *Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum, &c.*⁵ In causes of life and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy ; and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead : Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice, and an over-speaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal.⁶ It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might

¹ *As God useth to prepare, &c.*] Isaiah xl. 3, 4.

² *Qui fortiter, &c.*] He who blows the nose violently brings forth blood. Prov. xxx. 33.

³ *Terror*] A means of deterring. See Rom. xiii. 3.

⁴ *Pluet, &c.*] He will rain snares upon them. Ps. xi. 6.

⁵ *Judicis officium, &c.*] Ovid, *Trist.* I. i. 37. It is a judge's duty to consider not only the facts of a case, but the times to which they apply.

⁶ *Well-tuned cymbal*] Psalter, cl. 5.

have heard in due time from the bar ; or to show quickness of conceit¹ in cutting off evidence or counsel too short ; or to prevent² information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four : to direct the evidence ; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech ; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said ; and to give the rule³ or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much ; and proceedeth either of glory and willingness⁴ to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a stayed and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges ; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who *represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest.*⁵ But it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded ; especially towards the side which obtaineth not ; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit⁶ of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil⁷ reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence. And let not the counsel at the bar chop⁸ with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling

¹ *Conceit*] Conception.

² *Prevent*] Anticipate.

³ *The rule*] The order.

⁴ *Willingness*] Fond desire.

⁵ *Who represseth, &c.*] James iv. 6 ; 1 Pet. v. 4. 'God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.'

⁶ *The conceit*] The high notion or conception he had formed.

⁷ *Civil*] Lat. *Moderata*.

⁸ *Chop*] Bandy words or petty arguments. Hence the expression to *chop logic*. To *chop* originally meant to change or exchange.

of the cause anew, after the judge hath declared his sentence ; but, on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion to the party to say, his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers : The place of justice is a hallowed place ; and therefore not only the bench, but the foot-pace¹ and precincts, and purprise² thereof, ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption ; for, certainly, *grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of thorns or thistles* ;³ neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briers and brambles of catching and polling⁴ clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments. First, certain persons that are sowers of suits : which make the court swell, and the country pine. The second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly *amici curiæ*,⁵ but *parasiti curiæ*, in puffing a court up beyond her bounds for their own scraps and advantage. The third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts ; persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths. And the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees ; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the Sovereign and

¹ *Foot-pace*] Raised platform.

² *Purprise*] Inclosure.

³ *Grapes, &c.*] Matt. vii. 16.

⁴ *Polling*] Fleecing.

⁵ *Amici curiæ*] Friends of the court.

Estate: Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables, *Salus populi suprema lex*;¹ and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is a happy thing in a State, when Kings and States do often consult with judges; and again, when judges do often consult with the King and State: the one, when there is matter of law intervenient in business of State; the other, when there is some consideration of State intervenient in matter of law; for many times the things deduced² to judgment may be *meum* and *tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of Estate.³ I call matter of Estate, not only the parts of Sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration or dangerous precedent; or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people. And let no man weakly conceive, that just laws and true policy have any antipathy; for they are like the spirits⁴ and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides;⁵ let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne: being circumspect, that they do not check or oppose any points of Sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws; for they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs: *Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis ea utatur legitime*.⁶

¹ *Salus Populi, &c.*] The weal of the people is the supreme law. Bacon erred in referring this to the Tables compiled by the Decemvirs; the sentence is Cicero's, *De Leg.* iii. 3.

² *Deduced*] Brought, or referred.

³ *May trench, &c.*] Lat. *Ad rationes Statûs penetret.*

⁴ *The spirits*] The vital spirits. See p. 32, note 1.

⁵ *Solomon's throne, &c.*] 1 Kings x. 19.

⁶ *Nos scimus, &c.*] 1 Tim. i. 8. 'We know that the law is good if a man use it lawfully.'

LVII. OF ANGER.

To seek to extinguish anger utterly is but a bravery¹ of the Stoics. We have better oracles: *Be angry, but sin not: let not the sun go down upon your anger.*² Anger must be limited and confined, both in race³ and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit, to be angry, may be attempered and calmed; secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or at least refrained⁴ from doing mischief; thirdly, how to raise anger or appease anger in another.

For the first: there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life. And the best time to do this is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well that *anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls.*⁵ The Scripture exhorteth us to *possess our souls in patience.*⁶ Whosoever is out of patience is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees: *animasque in vulnere ponunt.*⁷ Anger is certainly a kind of baseness; as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns,—children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it: which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point: the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three. First, to be too sensible of hurt; for no

¹ *Bravery*] Bravado.

² *Be angry, &c.*] Eph. iv. 26.

³ *In race*] As to extent.

⁴ *Refrained*] Restrained.

⁵ *That anger, &c.*] Seneca, *De Irâ*, i. 1.

⁶ *To possess our souls, &c.*] Luke xxi. 19.

⁷ *Animasque, &c.*] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 238. And lose their lives in the wound they make.

man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and, therefore, tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry; they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of. The next is the apprehension and construction¹ of the injury offered, to be in the circumstances thereof full of contempt. For contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much or more than the hurt itself. And therefore when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much. Lastly, opinion of the touch² of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger. Wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as Gonsalvo³ was wont to say, *telam honoris crassiozem*.⁴ But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time, and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come, but that he foresees a time for it; and so to still himself in the meantime, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution: the one, of extreme bitterness of words; especially if they be aculeate and proper; for *communia maledicta*⁵ are nothing so much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit for society. The other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any business in a fit of anger: but howsoever you show bitterness, do not act anything that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another: it is done

¹ *The apprehension, &c.*] The apprehending and construing. The Latin has *Si quis curiosus et perspicax sit in interpretatione*.

² *The touch*] The wounding, or sullyng.

³ *Gonsalvo*] Viceroy of Naples. Died in 1515.

⁴ *Telam honoris crassiozem*] A more substantial web of honour. Compare the *Advancement*, II., 'Gonsalvo said, the honour of a soldier should be *e telâ crassiore*, and not so fine as that everything should catch in it and endanger it.'

⁵ *Communia maledicta*] General revilings.

chiefly by choosing of times, when men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt. And the two remedies are by the contraries. The former to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry business; for the first impression is much. And the other is to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt: imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

LVIII. OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

Solomon saith, *There is no new thing upon the earth.*¹ So that as Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance,² so Solomon giveth his sentence, that all novelty is but oblivion. Whereby you may see that the river of Læthe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith, if it were not for two things that are constant (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together nor go further asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time), no indi-

¹ *There is no new thing, &c.*] Eccles. i. 9.

² *That all knowledge, &c.*] This opinion is found in Plato's Menon and Phædo; but Bacon probably refers to Cicero's *Tusc. Disp.* i. 24, where it is said: Man has memory so infinite as to recollect numberless things; and Plato will have this to be a recollection of a former life. For how have children got *notions* of the many important things sealed up, as it were, in their minds (*ἐννοιαί*, *common notions*), unless the soul, before entering the body, had been well stored with knowledge? The soul, shut up in the body, could not discover, but must have brought with it, what it knows; nor does it clearly discover its ideas at its first resort to this unusual and troublesome abode; but after having refreshed and recollected itself, it then by its memory recovers them; and therefore *to learn* implies only *to recollect*. Compare what Bacon says, on the same subject, in his *Advancement (Dedication to the King)*.

vidual would last one moment. Certain it is, that the matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two, deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely¹ dispeople and destroy. Phaeton's car went but a day. And the three years' drought in the time of Elias² was but particular,³ and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings which are often in the West Indies,⁴ they are but narrow. But in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which hap to be reserved are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past;⁵ so that the oblivion is all one as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the old world. And it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there was not by earthquakes (as the Ægyptian priest told Solon concerning the island of Atlantis, that it was swallowed by an earthquake),⁶ but rather, that it was desolated by a particular deluge. For earthquakes are seldom in those parts. But, on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as⁷ the rivers of Asia and Africa and Europe are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby, it seems, that the remnants of generations of men were in such a particular deluge saved.

¹ *Merely*] Absolutely; quite.

² *The three years' drought, &c.*] Luke iv. 25; James v. 15.

³ *Particular*] Partial.

⁴ *In the West Indies*] The Latin has *Apud Indias Orientales*. Bacon means America generally.

⁵ *The remnant of people, &c.*] Machiavel, *Disc. on Livy*, ii. 5.

⁶ *As the Ægyptian priest, &c.*] Plato, *Tim.* iii. 24. See p. 152, note 2.

⁷ *As*] That.

As for the observation that Machiavel hath,¹ that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things,—traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities,²—I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian,³ who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitude or mutations in the superior globe, are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year,⁴ if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like individuals (for that is the fume⁵ of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influence upon these things below than indeed they have), but in gross. Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things: but they are rather gazed upon and waited upon⁶ in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects; specially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet for magnitude, colour, version⁷ of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

¹ *The observation, &c.*] *Disc. on Livy*, ii. 5.

² *Traducing Gregory the Great, &c.*] Gregory the Great was said to have commanded the destruction of the Palatine library; but the evidence of this is very doubtful. Gibbon (*Decl. and Fall*, ch. 45) says, 'The writings of Gregory himself reveal his implacable aversion to the monuments of classic genius, and he points his severest censure against the profane learning of a bishop,' &c.

³ *Sabinian*] He succeeded Pope Gregory in 604.

⁴ *Plato's great year*] Plato, *Tim.* iii. 28; Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* iv. 20. The great year denoted that space of time (some make it about 13,000, others 26,000 years) in which the whole universe of planets and fixed stars returns to the same positions in the heavens.

⁵ *The fume*] The idle vapour, or vain imagination.

⁶ *Waited upon*] Watched or observed. See p. 92, note I.

⁷ *Version*] Direction.

There is a toy¹ which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part) that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit² of years and weathers comes about again; as great frost, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like: and they call it the Prime. It is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men: The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men is the vicissitude of sects and religions. For those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak therefore of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions:

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords, and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal, and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt³ the springing up of a new sect, if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof. All which points held⁴ when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not; for it will not spread: the one is the supplanting or the opposing of authority established: for nothing is more popular than that; the other is the giving licence to pleasures and a voluptuous life. For as for speculative heresies (such as were in ancient times the Arians', and now the Arminians'), though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great

¹ *A toy*] A trifle; a light matter.

² *Suit*] Sequence.

³ *Doubt*] Fear; apprehend.

⁴ *Held*] Obtained; were realised.

alterations in States; except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manner of plantations of new sects: by the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles; because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature; and I may do the like of superlative and admirable¹ holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitudes in wars are many, but chiefly in three things: in the seats or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct. Wars in ancient time seemed more to move from east to west: for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars (which were the invaders) were all eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs, the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome. But east and west have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation. But north and south are fixed: and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region; be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere, or of the great continents that are upon the north: whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea; or (which is most apparent) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that which without aid of discipline doth make the bodies hardest and the courages warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great State and

¹ *Admirable*] Wonderful.

Empire, you may be sure to have wars. For great Empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces: and then, when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey. So was it in the decay of the Roman Empire; and likewise in the Empire of Almaigne, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befall to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of Kingdoms do likewise stir up wars. For when a State grows to an overpower, it is like a great flood that will be sure to overflow; as it hath been seen in the States of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look, when the world hath fewest barbarous peoples, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live (as it is almost everywhere at this day except Tartary), there is no danger of inundations of people; but when there be great shoals of people which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations: which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot, casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike State grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war. For commonly such States are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes. For certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxydraces, in India;¹ and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning and magic. And it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in

¹ *Ordnance, &c.*] I have not been able to find any authority for this assertion.

China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons, and their improvement are; first, the fetching¹ afar off; for that outruns the danger: as it is seen in ordnance and muskets. Secondly, the strength of the percussion, wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations² and ancient inventions. The third is, the commodious use of them: as that they may serve in all weathers; that the carriage may be light and manageable; and the like.

For the conduct of the war: At the first, men rested extremely upon number; they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles.³ After they grew to rest upon number rather competent than vast, they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like, and they grew more skilful in the ordering⁴ of their battles.

In the youth of a State arms do flourish; in the middle age of a State, learning; and then both of them together for a time: in the declining age of a State, mechanical arts and merchandise. Learning hath his⁵ infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost childish; then his youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then his strength of years, when it is solid and reduced:⁶ and, lastly, his old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust. But it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude lest we become giddy. As for the philology of them,⁷ that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

¹ *Fetching*] Ranging.

² *Arietations*] Battering with the ram.

³ *Battles*] Battalions; armies.

⁴ *Ordering*] Marshalling.

⁵ *His*] Its. See p. 39, note 5.

⁶ *Reduced*] Exact.

⁷ *The philology of them*] The literature of them.

A FRAGMENT
OF
AN ESSAY OF FAME.¹



THE poets make Fame a monster: they describe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously: ² they say, look, how many feathers she hath—so many eyes she hath underneath, so many tongues, so many voices, she pricks up so many ears.³

This is a flourish; ⁴ there follow excellent parables; ⁵ as that she gathereth strength in going; ⁶ that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds; ⁷ that in

¹ *A Fragment, &c.*] This *Fragment* was first published by Dr. Rawley, in 1657. *Fame* signifies *Rumour*.

² *Sententiously*] Pithily; in the style of a proverb or maxim.

³ *They say, &c.*] Compare Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 181:—

‘Monstrum horrendum, ingens: cui quot sunt corpore plumæ,
Tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),
Tot linguæ, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures.’

In these lines Fame is described ‘finely and elegantly,’ as Bacon says; he proceeds to refer to the ‘parables’ in which she is described by the same poet ‘gravely and sententiously.’

⁴ *A flourish*] Fanciful rhetoric.

⁵ *Parables*] Proverbial sentiments.

⁶ *She gathereth, &c.*] ‘Viresque acquirit eundo.’—*Æn.* iv. 175.

⁷ *That she goeth, &c.*] ‘Ingrediturque solo, et aput inter nubila condit.’—*Æn.* iv. 177.

the day-time she sitteth in a watch-tower, and flieth most by night; that she mingleth things done with things not done; and that she is a terror to great cities.¹ But that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the Earth, mother of the giants that made war against Jupiter, and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth Fame;² for certain it is that rebels, figured by the giants, and seditious fames, and libels, are but brothers and sisters, masculine and feminine.³ But now if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand and govern her, and with her fly⁴ other ravening fowl and kill them, it is somewhat worth: but we are infected with the style of the poets. To speak now in a sad⁵ and serious manner, there is not in all the politics a place⁶ less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame: we will therefore speak of these points: what are false fames; and what are true fames; and how they may be best discerned;⁷ how fames may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied; and how they may be checked and laid dead; and other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the war.

¹ *In the day-time, &c.*] This, again, is from the *Æn.* iv. 184-190:

‘Nocte volat cœli medio, terræque per umbram
Stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;
Luce sedet custos, aut summi culmine tecti,
Turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes:
Tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri.
Hæc tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
Gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat.’

² *That the Earth, &c.*] See p. 54.

³ *Masculine and feminine*] Compare what is said in p. 54.

⁴ *Fly*] Fly at; pursue and attack. An allusion to falconry.

⁵ *Sad*] Sober; grave. Formerly a common meaning.

⁶ *A place*] A topic or argument. See p. 136, note 2.

⁷ *Discerned*] Distinguished.

Mucianus undid Vitellius by a fame that he scattered,¹ that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided;² and laid asleep his industry and preparations by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with the wars and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy.³ Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continual giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment;⁴ and it is a usual thing with the bashaws to conceal the death of the Great Turk from the janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes king of Persia post apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships, which he had made athwart Hellespont.⁵ There be a thousand such like examples; and the more they are the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them everywhere: therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

The rest of the Essay of Fame was not finished.

¹ *A fame that he scattered*] A rumour that he spread. Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 80. See p. 22.

² *Unprovided*] At unawares.

³ *By a fame, &c.*] Cæsar, *Bell. Civ.* i. 6; Plutarch, *Jul. Cæs.*

⁴ *Livia settled, &c.*] Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 5.

⁵ *Themistocles made, &c.*] Herodotus, viii. 108.

APPENDIX.

EXAMINATION PAPER ON BACON'S ESSAYS

SET AT THE

OXFORD LOCAL EXAMINATIONS, 1864.

(WITH ANSWERS.)

I.—QUESTIONS.

1. Define 'Essay.' Has the word changed its meaning since Bacon's time?

2. Enumerate the 'fruits' and the 'manifold uses' of Friendship.

3. What are your author's views of the causes of Atheism? Does he appear to have omitted some?

4. Where are the following persons mentioned in the Essays: Pythagoras, Prodicus, Cyrus, Justinian, Apollonius of Tyana, Albert Durer, Cosmo Duke of Florence, Louis XI.? And how are their names introduced?

5. Give Bacon's chief directions to Planters.

6. Give the substance of the Essays on Delays, Innovations, and the Regimen of Health.

7. 'The causes and motives of seditions are' Go on, if you can, with the proposition.

8. What is your author's advice to Travellers?

9. Tell a lie and find a troth.

Abeunt studia in mores.

Fortune is like the market.

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet.

When hempe is spun, England's done.

Comment on these; and say where they occur.

10. 'Better have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of Him.'—How does your author make out this?

11. 'If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill.'—What use does he make of the story referred to?

II.—ANSWERS.

I. 'Essay'* is a name denoting a species of composition which attempts to define (if necessary) some moral, political, or other topic; to argue upon it methodically, and illustrate it; and to deduce its proper value or importance.

The word has changed its meaning considerably since Bacon's time; as it then denoted merely a few scattered thoughts or suggestions, designed to prompt and aid further reflection.

2. Of the fruits and the manifold uses of Friendship, Bacon specifies the following:—

i. The ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds occasion; true friends being *participes curarum*, who double each other's joys, and halve each other's griefs.

ii. The opening of the understanding through communicating and discoursing with another; and the preventing, by faithful counsel, a man's being misled by his own self-esteem, prejudice, or passion.

iii. Aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions; especially when modesty would restrain a man from pleading his own merits, or when some personal relationship might hinder such freedom of acting as things themselves require.

3. Bacon views the causes of Atheism to be:

i. A little philosophy, dealing with second causes scattered, which may dispose a man to rest in them, and so incline his mind to disown the great First Cause.

ii. A corrupt natural wish that there should be no God to take account of human conduct.

* The student should notice that it is 'Essay,' not 'an Essay,' of which a definition is required. Let care always be taken to give *pertinent* answers. We have answered several of the questions more fully than candidates generally can be expected to do. Very creditable industry and judgment may be shown with less than half the quantity of matter here introduced.

iii. The searing of the conscience by long, familiar, and hypocritical handling of holy things, without feeling them.

iv. The great diversity of religious sects.

v. Scandal of priests.

vi. Custom of profane scoffing in holy matters.

vii. Learned times; specially with peace and prosperity.

Bacon has omitted to notice as causes of Atheism :

A. The condition of the world, as seeming to indicate that it has no moral governor.

B. The apparent inconsistencies in the Bible.

C. An abuse of speculation, going beyond the *qualities* of material or spiritual existence, and aiming to ascertain what matter itself, or spirit itself, is : an occupation of the mind which can only proceed upon conjectures and suppositions, and which has sometimes led to atheism.

4. *Pythagoras* is mentioned, in the Essay on *Friendship*, as author of the proverb, *Cor ne edito*.

Prodicus is mentioned, in the Essay on *Seeming Wise*, as one who, for the purpose of ridicule, is made by Plato to deliver a speech consisting of distinctions from beginning to end.

Cyrus is mentioned, in the Essay on *Honour and Reputation*, as one of those Princes who were distinguished as *Conditores imperiorum*.

Justinian, in the same Essay, as one of those *Second Founders*, or *Perpetui Principes*, who were *Lawgivers*, and continued after death to govern by their ordinances.

Apollonius of Tyana is mentioned, in the Essay on *Empire*, as having been asked by Vespasian, *What was Nero's overthrow?* and as having answered, *Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but, in government, sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* The same *Apollonius* is also referred to, in the Essay on *Friendship*, as one of those who falsely and feignedly sequestered themselves from society.

Albert Durer is censured, in the Essay on *Beauty*, for aiming at geometrical proportion in his representation of the human form.

Cosmo, Duke of Florence, is mentioned, in the Essay on *Revenge*, with reference to 'a desperate saying' of his, that *we are enjoined to forgive our enemies, but nowhere enjoined to forgive our friends.* He is also mentioned in the Essay on *Youth and Age*, as one who was of a *reposed nature* in youth.

Louis XI. is mentioned, in the Essay on *Friendship*, as one who would not communicate his secrets with anyone, and *whose closeness was his tormentor.*

5. To choose the right sort of people to plant with, viz. gardeners, ploughmen, smiths, carpenters, &c., with some apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers.

To supply a sufficient quantity of biscuit, meal, flour, &c., to serve until bread may be had ; and also a good store of salt, and of such animals for food as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest.

To take immediate advantage of all kinds of vegetable food which the country itself yields ready to hand.

To consider and provide for such vegetable food as grows there speedily, and within the year.

To regulate the consumption of food by rations.

To devote the main part of the ground to the production of a common stock of sustenance.

To take advantage of such other commodities as the country naturally yields, such as wood, iron, drugs, &c., to help to defray the expense of the plantation ; but not give much attention to mining.

To entrust the government of the plantation to one person, assisted by a few counsellors, who should be noblemen and gentlemen, rather than merchants.

To impose no custom dues on traffic for a considerable time.

To add people from time to time, but not to exceed the number that can be conveniently maintained.

To begin building near the sea or a river, but to continue building upwards from it rather than along it.

To treat sensibly and humanely the savage people of the country (if any).

6. i. *Of Delays*.—It is wise to time well the beginnings of things. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion should be well considered. Danger when slighted sometimes deceives men who could have well withstood it, if they had not delayed beyond the proper time. It is often better to meet danger halfway than to delay till it comes near; for with delay we may become less capable of prevailing. On the other hand, it is unsafe to imagine danger nearer than it is, and to waste one's means in premature attempts to avert it ; or to provoke a speedier approach of what threatens, by declaring opposition too soon. This is the other extreme. When delay would be salutary, and when it would be hurtful, should be duly weighed. We should secretly watch for the right time to begin, and act promptly when we have begun.

ii. *Of Innovations*.—Innovations are the births of Time, and at first unshapely. Yet the innovation of the man who first brings honour to his family is generally better than all after attempts of imitation to make the once novel virtue customary and familiar. That which is

customary, though it may not be good, is at least conformable with other things ; but the introduction of new things, however useful, is disturbing, and therefore often disliked and resisted. But as Time, the greatest innovator, will not stand still, there may be as great disturbance in obstinately continuing an old custom, as in making an innovation. Men should imitate Time, which innovates quietly and by scarcely perceptible degrees ; for this would lighten any partial inconvenience that innovation might cause. Experiments in States should not be attempted, except when there is urgent necessity or manifest utility. And whatever innovation may be adopted, it should be suspected, until sufficiently tried.

iii. *Of Regimen of Health.*—The best guide to preservation of health is a man's own observation of what suits him. Things, however, that appear to do no harm in the vigorous season of youth, may sow noxious seeds that will produce evil fruit in age. Do not suddenly alter any main part of diet, without some conformable change in other things. If any custom in regard to diet, sleep, clothing, &c., be thought injurious, leave it off not abruptly, but gradually, lest the change be found improper for your own particular constitution. Cheerfulness when taking food, or sleep, or exercise, conduces much to long life. Avoid the indulgence of evil and inordinate passions. Cultivate studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects. In health use physic now and then, not frequently, that in sickness it may be found neither too strange for the body, nor too familiar. Regulation of diet according to seasons is better than physic ; and if proper exercise be taken in health, diet without physic may often be sufficient even in sickness. Celsus showed great sagacity in prescribing an interchange of contraries, such as fasting and full eating, but the less agreeable in less proportion, that nature might be cherished, and yet trained to self-control.

7. 'The causes and motives of seditions are : innovations in religion, taxes ; . . . [continue the paragraph in the 15th Essay].

'8. Bacon's advice for the young traveller is : To acquire some knowledge of the language of the country to be visited ; to have the company of some tutor or grave servant who has been there before ; to be provided with a book describing the country ; and to keep a diary. To attend royal, legal, and ecclesiastical courts at some of their times of business ; to visit churches, monasteries, colleges, arsenals, fortifications, harbours, and whatever deserves observation or inquiry. Not to stay too long in one town, or in any one part of a town ; to associate with good people of the place, not with his countrymen who may be there ; and to shun the company of quarrelsome persons. To obtain letters of introduction to

men of distinction and authority; and to seek the acquaintance of secretaries and attachés of ambassadors. Upon returning home, he is to maintain correspondence with the best of his foreign acquaintances; and to show the fruits of his travel by sensible and modest relation, without affecting foreign dress and manners.

9. *Tell a lie and find a troth*, is a Spanish proverb referred to in the Essay on *Simulation and Dissimulation*, as implying that to simulate is the most effectual means of drawing out men and making them reveal themselves.

Abeunt studia in mores, is a quotation from Ovid, signifying that particular studies induce particular habits of mind. It occurs in the Essay on *Studies*, where histories are said to make wise, the poets to make witty, mathematics to make subtle, &c.

Fortune is like the market, is the beginning of the Essay on *Delays*. The comparison means, that if we wait or delay a little, chance will sometimes bring about a fall of prices, or a better opportunity, and at other times a rise of prices, or a worse opportunity.

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet, is an assertion in the Essay on *Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates*, the literal sense being that a people cannot, at the same time, be as the lion's whelp and as the ass between burdens. Bacon applies it to signify that a people oppressed with taxes will never be valiant and martial.

When hempe is spun, England's done, is described by Bacon in the Essay on *Prophecies*, as a *trivial prophecy* which he heard when he was a child, and which was then generally conceived to import that England should come to ruin after the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary and Philip, and Elizabeth, as the initials of their names form the word HEMPE. He thanked God, however, that the prediction *England's done* was verified only in the change of the style *King of England* to *King of Britain*.

10. He makes out this by characterising the having no opinion of God at all as *unbelief*, and the having an opinion unworthy of Him as *contumely*. (Essay on *Superstition*.)

11. He says that the conduct of Mahomet is paralleled by those bold fellows who, when they have promised great things, and shamefully failed, make light of the matter, and turn it off with some impudent shift. (Essay on *Boldness*.)

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